



Alij diutius Imperium tenuerunt, nemo tam fortiter reliquit. Tacit. Histor. Lib. 2. c. 43. p. 47.

For the 10th of April

TO THE
KINGS most Excellent MAJESTY
CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God KING of Great
Britain, France and Ireland, &c.

May it please Your MAJESTY,

SO Clear and Indisputable is
Your Majesties Title to the
following Papers, that to pre-
fix any other name before them,
were a boldness, next door to sacri-
ledge. They had the honour, when
first published, to attend the Works
of Your Majesties Royal Father of
blessed Memory; the greatest part
of which Impression (collected with
great Cost and Care) having in the
late Conflagration perished in the
common flames; I was ambitious by

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reviving this Piece, to do some honour to the Memory of so Great a Prince, and that the world might see how far Truth and Justice and a better Cause is able to hold out, under the most prosperous Triumphs of violence and oppression, and that when Villains may be suffered so far to prevail, as to despoil Majesty of all advantages of Power and Greatness, it can at the same time be secure in the comforts of its own innocence and vertue. That Heaven would bless Your Majesty with a long Life and a prosperous Reign, with all the blessings of this, and a better world, is the hearty and incessant prayer of

Your Majesties most humbly devoted

Subject and Servant,

Richard Royston.

CHARLES R.



CHARLES the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree, Condition or Quality soever within Our Kingdoms of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, or any of Our Dominions, greeting. Whereas We have received sufficient Testimony of the Fidelity and Loyalty of Our Servant *Richard Royston* of Our City of *London* Book-seller, and of the great Losses and Troubles he hath sustained for his Faithfulness to Our Royal Father of blessed Memory, and Our Self, in the Printing and Publishing of many Messages and Papers of Our said Blessed Father, especially those most Excellent Discourses and Soliloquies by the name of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. Know ye, That it is Our Royal Will and Pleasure, and We do by these presents Grant unto the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, the sole Printing and Publishing of the said Messages, Papers and Discourses contained in the Book Intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, and of all or any other the Works of Our said Royal Father, with other Papers and Declarations concerning Our said Royal Father, in any Volume or Volumes whatsoever. Of which Our Grant and

Royal Pleasure We will and require all Our loving Subjects to take notice; And that none of them presume to print, or cause to be printed, vended, or put to sale the said Book Intituled *Reliquiæ Sacræ Carolinæ*, or any part of the said Papers or Works of Our said Royal Father, within these Our Realms and Dominions, or any of them, whether Printed within these Our Dominions, or Imported from Forein Parts, contrary to Our expresse Pleasure herein declared, without the Licence and Consent of the said *Richard Royston*, his Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, under such Penalties as are by the Lawes and Statutes of this Our Realm imposed upon such Persons as Imprint, Import, Vend, or Put to sale unlicensed and prohibited Books; Any Privilege, Custome or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness, &c.

Given at Our Court at *White-Hall* the nine and twentieth day of *November*, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.

T O



TO THE READER.

IN these Papers, READER, thou hast a short Account how this best of PRINCES Lived and Died; a Subject that was fit to be writ only with the point of a Scepter: none but a Royal Breast can have Sentiments equal to His Vertues, nor any but a Crowned Head can frame Expressions to represent His Worth. He that had nothing Common or Ordinary in His Life and Fortune, is almost profaned by a Vulgar Pen. The attempt, I confess, admits no Apologie but this, That it was fit that Posterity, when they read His Works (for they shall continue while these Islands are inhabited, to upbraid Time, and reproach Marble Monuments of weakness) should also be told that His Actions were as Heroick as His Writings, and His Life more Elegant than His Style. Which not being undertaken by some Noble hand, (that was happy in a near approach to Majesty, and
so

so could have taken more exact measures of this Great Example for Mighty Kings, rendred it in more full proportions, and given it more lively Colours) I was by importunity prevailed upon to imitate those affectionate Slaves, who would gather up the scattered limbs of some great Person that had been their Lord, yet fell at the Pleasure of his Enemies, burn them on some Plebeian Pyle, and entertain their ashes in an homely Urn, till future times could cover them with a Pyramid, or inclose them in a Temple; by making a Collection from Writers and Persons worthy of Credit, of all the Remains and Memoires (I could get) of this Incomparable Monarch: Whose Excellent Vertues though they often tempted the Compiler to the Liberty of a Panegyrick, yet they still perswaded him to as strict an observance of Truth as is due to an History: For he praises this King best who writes His Life most faithfully, which was the Care and Endeavour of

Thine,

Rich. Perrinchief.

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MAJESTY

IN
MISERY:

OR,
An Imploration to the
KING of KINGS.

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MAJESTY in MISERY:

O R,

An Imploration to the KING of Kings.

Written by his late Majesty King CHARLES
the First, during His Captivity at *Caris-*
brooke Castle, Anno Dom. 1648.

(Power springs
G*REAT Monarch of the World, from whose*
The Potency and Power of Kings,
Record the Royal Woe, my Sufferings sings,
And teach my tongue, that ever did confine
Its faculties, in Truths Seraphick Line
To tract the treasours of thy foes and mine.

Nature and Law, by thy Divine Decree
(The only Root of Righteous Royaltie)
With this dim Diadem invested me,

With it, the sacred Scepter, Purple Robe,
The Holy Unction, and the Royal Globe :
Tet am I level'd with the life of Job.

The

Majesty in Misery.

- 5 *The fiercest Furies, that do daily tread
Upon my Grief, my Gray Dis-crowned head,
Are those, that owe my Bounty for their Bread.*
- 6 *They raise a War, and Christen it, The Cause,
Whilest sacrilegious hands have best applause,
Plunder, and Murder, are the Kingdoms Laws;*
- 7 *Tyranny bears the Title of Taxation,
Revenge and Robbery are Reformation,
Oppression gains the name of Sequestration.*
- 8 *My Loyal Subjects who in this bad season
Attend me (by the Law of God and Reason)
They dare impeach, and punish for high Treason.*
- 9 *Next at the Clergy, do their Furies frown,
Pious Episcopacy must go down,
They will destroy the Crozier, and the Crown.*
- 10 *Church-men are chain'd, and Schismatics are
Mechanicks preach, and Holy Fathers bleed,
The Crown is crucified with the Creed.* (free'd,
- 11 *The Church of England doth all Faction foster,
The Pulpit is usurpt by each Impostor,
Ex tempore, excludes the Pater Noster.*
- 12 *The Presbyter and Independant Seed (bleed,
springs with broad-blades; to make Religion
Herod, and Pontius Pilate are agreed.*
- 13 *The*

Majesty in Misery.

- 3 *The Corner-stone's misplac't by every Pavier;
With such a bloody method, and behaviour,
Their Ancestors did crucifie our Saviour.*
- 4 *My Royal Consort, from whose fruitfull Womb
So many Princes legally have come,
Is forc't in Pilgrimage to seek a Tomb.*
- 5 *Great Britains Heir is forced into France,
Whilest on his Father's head, his foes advance,
Poor Child ! He weeps out his Inheritance.*
- 6 *With my own Power, my Majesty they wound,
In the King's Name, the K. himself's uncrown'd:
So doth the dust, destroy the Diamond.*
- 7 *With Propositions daily they enchaunt
My Peoples ears, such, as do Reason daunt,
And the Almighty will not let me Grant.*
- 8 *They promise, to erect my Royal Stem,
To make me Great, t' advance my Diadem,
If I will first fall down, and worship them;*
- 9 *But for refusal they devour my Thrones,
Distress my Children, and destroy my bones,
I fear they'l force me, to make bread of stones.*
- 10 *My Life they prize at such a slender rate,
That in my absence, they draw bills of hate,
To prove the King, a Traytor to the State.*

Majesty in Misery.

- 21 *Felons obtain more priviledge than I,
They are allow'd to answer, e're they dye,
'Tis death for Me, to ask the reason, Why.*
- 22 *But Sacred Saviour, with thy words I woo
Thee to forgive, and not be bitter to
Such, as thou know'st do not know what they do.*
- 23 *For since they from their Lord are so disjointed,
As to contemn those Edicts he appointed,
How can they prize the Power of his Anointed?*
- 24 *Augment my Patience, nullifie my hate,
Preserve my Issue, and inspire my Mate,
Yet, though We perish, bless this Church and State.*
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T H

THE
L I F E
O F
Charles I.

CHARLES I. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, was the Son of James VI. King of Scots, and Anne his Wife a Daughter of Denmark. By His Father descended to him all the Rights (together with their blood) of all our Ancient both Saxon and Norman Kings to this Empire. For the Lady Margaret, Sister and sole Heir of Edgar Atheling the last surviving Prince of the English Saxons, being married to Malcolme Conmor King of Scots, conveyed to his Line the Saxon, and Margaret Daughter of Henry VII. married to James IV. did bring the Norman Titles and Blood. From this Imperial Extract He received not more Honour than He gave to it. For the blood, that

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was

was derived to Him elaborated through so many Royal veins, He delivered to Posterity more maturated for Glory, and by a constant practice of Goodness more habituated for Vertue.

He was born at *Dunfermeling*, one of the principal Towns of *Fife* in *Scotland*, on *November* 19. [*Anno* 1600.] in so much weakness, that His Baptism was hastened without the usual Ceremonies wherewith such Royal Infants are admitted into the Church. Providence seeming to consecrate Him to Sufferings from the Womb, and to accustom Him to the exchange of the strictures of Greatness for clouds of Tears.

There was no observation nor augury made at His Birth concerning the sequel of His Life or course of Fortune (which are usually related of such whose lives have different occurrences from those in others of the same state.) Either the fear of His Death made those about Him less observant of any Circumstances which curious minds would have formed into a Prediction, He appearing like a Star that rises so near the point of his setting, that it was thought there would be no time for calculation. Or He being at distance by His Birth from the Succession to the Crown (Prince *Henry* then having the first hopes) made men less solicitous to enquire of His future state, on whom, being born to a private Condition, the Fate of the Kingdom did not depend. But

But in the third year of His age, when King *James* was preparing himself to remove to the *English* Throne, a certain Laird of the *Highlands*, though of very great age, came to the Court to take his leave of him, whom he found accompanied with all his Children. After his address full of affectionate and sage Advice (to which his gray hairs gave authority) to the King; his next application was to Duke CHARLES [*Anno* 1602.] (for in the second year of His age He was created Duke of *Albany*, Marquess of *Ormond*, Earl of *Ross*, and Baron of *Ardmanock*) whose hands he kiss'd with so great an ardencie of affection, that he seemed forgetful of a separation. The King, to correct his supposed mistake, advised him to a more present observance of Prince *Henry*, as the Heir of his Crown, of whom he had taken little notice. The old Laird answered that he knew well enough what he did, and that *It was this Child* (who was then in His Nurses arms) *who should convey his name and memory to the succeeding ages.* This then was conceived dotage; but the event gave it the credit of a Prophecie, and confirmed that opinion, *That some long-experienced souls in the world, before their dislodging, arrive to the height of prophetic Spirits.*

[*Anno* 1603.] When He was three years old He was committed to the Care and Governance

of Sir Robert Cary's Lady, as a reward for being the first Messenger of Queen Elizabeth's death, whose long life had worn the expectation of the *Scotish* Nobility into a suspicion, *that the Lords of England would never acknowledge her to be dead as long as there was any old Woman of that Nation that could wear good cloaths, and personate the Majesty of a Queen.*

[Anno 1604.] In the fourth year, after He had wrestled with a Fever, He was brought in *October* to the *English* Court at *Windsor*, where on *January* 6. following, having the day before been made *Knight* of the *Bath*, He was invested with the Title of *Duke* of *York*, and in the sixth year [Anno 1606.] was committed to the Pedagogy of Mr. *Thomas Murray*, a person well qualified to that Office, though a favourer of *Presbytery*.

Under this Tutor, and confined to a retirement by the present weakness of His body, He was so diligent and studious, that He far advanced in all that kind of Learning which is necessary for a Prince, *without which even their natural Endowments seem rough and unpleasant in despite of the splendour of their Fortune.* His proficiency in Letters was so eminent, that Prince *Henry* taking notice of it, to put a jest upon Him, one day put the Cap of the Archbishop *Abbot*, (who was then, with the Prince and the Duke and other of the Nobility, waiting

ing in the Privy Chamber for the King's coming out) on his Brother's head; adding, that *If He continued a good Boy, and followed His book, he would make Him one day Archbishop of Canterbury.* Which the Child took in such disdain, that He threw the Cap on the ground, and trampled it under His feet with so much eagerness, that He could hardly be restrained. Which Passion was afterward taken by some overcurious as a presage of the ruine of Episcopacy by His Power. But the event shewed it was not ominous to the Order, but to the Person of the Archbishop, whom in His Reign He suspended from the administration of His Office.

[*Anno 1611.*] In His eleventh year He was made Knight of the Garter: and in the twelfth Prince Henry dying November 6. [1612.] He succeeded him in the Dukedom of *Cornwal* and the Regalities thereof; and attended his Funeral as chief Mourner, on *Decemb. 7.*

On the 14. of *February* following He performed the Office of Brideman to the Princess *Elizabeth* His Sister, who on that day was married to *Frederick V. Prince Elector Palatine*; the gayeties of which day were afterwards attended with many fatal Cares and Expences.

His Childhood was blemished with a supposed Obstinacy: for the weakness of His body inclining

clining Him to retirements, and the imperfection of His speech rendring discourse tedious and unpleasant, He was suspected to be somewhat perverse. But more age and strength fitting Him for manlike Exercises, and the Publick hopes inviting Him from His Privacies, He delivered the world of such fears: for applying Himself to action, He grew so perfect in Vaulting, riding the great Horse, running at the Ring, shooting in Cross-bows, Muskets, and sometimes in great Pieces of Ordnance, that if Principality had been to be the reward of Excellency in those Arts, He would have had a Title to the Crown this way also; being thought the best Marks-man and most graceful Manager of the great Horse in the three Kingdoms. His tenacious humor He left with His retirements, none being more desirous of good counsel, nor any more obsequious when He found it; yea, too distrustful of His own Judgment, which the issue of things proved always best when it was followed.

[*Anno 1616.*] When he was sixteen years old, on *Novemb. 3.* He was created Prince of *Wales*, Earl of *Chester* and *Flint*, the Revenues thereof being assigned to maintain His Court which was then formed for Him. And being thus advanced in Years and State, it was expected that He should no longer retain the Modesty which the shades of His Privacy had accustomed Him unto, but now appear as the im-

mediate

mediate Instrument of Empire, and that by Him the Favours and Honours of the Court should be derived to others. But though Providence had changed all about, yet it had changed nothing within Him; and He thought it glory enough to be great without the diminution of others; for He still permitted the Ministry of State to His Fathers Favourites: which gave occasion of discourse to the *Speculativi*.

"Some thought He did it to avoid the Jealousies of the Old King, (which were conceived to have been somewhat raised by the popularity of Prince Henry, whose breast was full of forward Hopes) For *Young Princes are deemed of an impatient Ambition, and Old ones to be too nice and tender of their Power; in which though they are contented with a Successor (as they must have) yet are afraid of a Partner.* And it was supposed that therefore K. James had raised *Car and Buckingham,* like Comets to dim the lustre of these rising Stars. But these were mistaken in the nature of that King, who was enclined to contract a private friendship, and was prodigal to the objects of it, before ever he had Sons to divert his Love, or raise his Fears.

The Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Arran in Scotland.

"Some that at a distance looked upon the Prince's actions, ascribed them to a Narrowness of Mind, and an Incapacity of Greatness:

“while others, better acquainted with the frame
 “of His Spirit, knew His prudent Modesty in-
 “clined Him to learn the Methods of Com-
 “manding by the practice of Obedience; and
 “that being of a peaceful Soul, He affected
 “not to embroil the Court (and from thence
 “the Kingdom) in Factions, (the effects of im-
 “potent minds) which He knew were dange-
 “rous to a State, and destructive to that Prince
 “who gives birth unto them; that therefore
 “He chose to wait for a certain, though de-
 “layed, Grandeur, rather than by the Com-
 “pendious way of Contrasts get a precocious
 “Power, and leave too pregnant an Example
 “of Ruine.

“Others conceived it the Prudence of the
 “Father (with which the Son complied) who
 “knew the true use of Favourites was to make
 “them the objects of the People’s impatience,
 “the sinks to receive the curses and anger
 “of the Vulgar, the hatred of the querulous,
 “and the envy of unsatisfied ambition: which
 “He would rather have fall upon Servants,
 “that His Son might ascend the Throne free
 “and unburthened with the discontents of
 “any. This was the rather believed, because
 “He could dispense Honours where and when
 “He pleased; as He did to some of His own
 “Household; as Sir *Robert Cary* was made Lord
 “*Cary of Lepington*, Sir *Thomas Howard* Vi-
 “scount *Andover*, and Sir *John Vaughan* Lord of
 “*Melingar* in Ireland. [Anno

[*Anno 1618.*] The evenness of His Spirit was discovered in the loss of His Mother, whose death (presaged, as some thought, by that notorious Comet which appeared *Novemb. 18.* before) happened on *March 2. Anno 1618.* which He bewailed with a just measure of Grief, without any affected Sorrows, though She was most affectionate to Him above all her other Children; and at her Funeral He would be chief Mourner.

The Death of the Queen was not long after followed with a sharp Sickness of the King: wherein his Life seeming in danger, the consequences of his Death began to be lamented. "*Dr. Andrews, then Bishop of Ely, bewailed the sad condition of the Church, if God should at that time determine the days of the King. The Prince being then only conversant with Scotch-men, which made up the greatest part of His Family, and were ill-affected to the Government and Worship of the Church of England.* Of this the King became so sensible, that he made a Vow, "*If God should please to restore his health, he would so instruct the Prince in the Controversies of Religion, as should secure His affections to the present establishment.* Which he did with so much success, as he assured the Chaplains who were to wait on the Prince in *Spain*, that He was able to moderate in any emergent disputations (which

(which yet he charged them to decline, if possible.) At which they smiling, he earnestly added, "that CHARLES *should manage a point in Controversie with the best-studied Divine of them all.*

[*Anno 1619.*] In his 19. Year, on *March 24.* which was the Anniversary of King *James's* coming to the Crown of *England*, He performed a Justing at *White-Hall*, together with several of the Nobility, wherein He acquitted Himself with a Bravery equal to His Dignity. And on the *Sunday* following, attending His Father to the Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, and to the Service in the Quire, He shewed as much humble Devotion there, as he had manifested Princely Gallantry in his Justs, admired and applauded by the People for His accomplishments in the Arts both of War and Peace: That He could behave Himself humbly towards His God, and bravely towards His Enemy; pleased with the hardiness of His Body, and ravished with His more generous Mind; that the pleasures of the Court had not softened one to Sloth, nor the supremest Fortune debauched the other to Impiety.

[*Anno 1622.*] Confident in these, and other evidences of a wise conduct, the King (without acquainting his Council) sends the Prince into *Spain*, there to contract a Marriage with the *Infanta*, and as a part of the Portion, to recover

recover the *Palatinate*, which His Sisters Husband had lost, and was by the *Emperour* canteld to the *Duke of Bavaria* and the *King of Spain*. And herein He was to combate all the Artists of State in that Court, the practices of that Church, and put an issue to that Treaty wherein the Lord *Digby*, though much conversant in the Intrigues of that Council, had been long cajoled.

To that place He was to pass *Incognito*, accompanied only with the Marquess of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*, through *France*; where, to satisfy His Curiosity, and shew Himself to Love, He attempted and enjoyed a view of the Court at *Paris*, and there received the first Impression of that Excellent *Princess* who was by Heaven destined to His chaste Embraces. Satisfied with that sight, no lesser enjoyments of any pleasure in that great Kingdom, nor Vanity of Youth, which is hardly curbed when it is allyed to power, could tempt His stay, or a discovery of His Greatness; but with a speed answerable to an active body and mind, He out-stripped the *French* Posts which were sent to stop Him, although that King had intelligence of His being within his Dominions immediately after their departure from the *Louvre*.

The certain news of His safe arrival at *Madrid* drew after Him from hence a Princely Train, and raised the Censures of the World
upon

upon the King; "As being too forgetful of the
 "Inhospitallity of Princes to each other, who,
 "when either Design, Tempests or Necessity
 "have driven their Rivals in Majesty upon
 "their Coasts without a Caution, they let them
 "not part without some tribute to their Inte-
 "rest: and a fresh Example of this was in the
 "King's own Mother, who seeking refuge
 "in *England* with her Sister Queen *Elizabeth*
 "from a Storm at home, did lose both her Li-
 "berty and Life,

This none daring to mind the King of, his
 Jester *Archee* made him sensible, by telling him,
He came to change Caps with him. Why, said
the King? Because (replied Archee) Thou hast
sent the Prince into Spain, from whence He is ne-
ver like to return. But (said the King) what
wilt thou say when thou seest Him come back
again? Mary, saies the Jester, I will take off
the Fools Cap which I now put upon thy head for
sending Him thither, and put it on the King of
Spain's for letting Him return.

This so awakened the King's apprehension
 of the Prince's danger, that it drove him into
 an exceeding Melancholy, from which he
 was never free till he was assured of the
 Prince's return to his own Dominions, which
 was his Fleet in the Sea: and that was not
 long after. For notwithstanding the con-
 trasts of his two prime Ministers there, *Bucking-*
ham

ham and *Bristol*, (which were sufficient to amaze an ordinary prudence, and disturb the counsels of so young a beginner in the Mysteries of Empire, and the Arts of experienced Conclaves;) the impetuous attempts of the *Spanish* Clergy, either for a Change of His Religion, or a Toleration of theirs; the Spleen of *Olivares*, whom *Buckingham* had exasperated; He so dexterously managed the Treaty of Marriage, that all the Articles and Circumstances were solemnly sworn to by both Kings. By a Civil Letter to the Pope (which His Enemies Malice afterwards took as an occasion of Slander) He procured a civil return, with the grant of a Dispensation; baffled the hopes of their Clergy by His Constancy in his own Profession, and vindicated it from the odious aspersions of their Priests, by causing our Liturgie to be translated into the *Spanish* Tongue; and by His generous miene enthralled the *Infanta*, for whom He had exposed His Liberty.

Yet having an insight into the practices of that Court, that they would not put the Restitution of the *Palatinate* into the consideration of the Portion, but reserve it as a Superfoetation of the *Spanish* Love, and as an opportunity for the *Infanta* to reconcile the *English* Spirits, who were heated by the late Wars into an hatred of the *Spaniards*; and that this was but to lengthen out the Treaty till they had wholly brought the *Palatinate* under their power; He conformed

conformed His mind to the resolves of His Father, who said, "*He would never marry his Son with a Portion of His only Sister's Tears*", and therefore inclined to a rupture. But concealing His Purpose, and dissembling His Knowledge of their Designs, He consulted His own Safety and Return, which His Fathers Letters commanded : which He so prudently acquired, that the King of *Spain* parted from Him with all those endearments with which departing Friends ceremoniate their Farewels ; having satisfied Him by a Proxie left with the Earl of *Bristol*, to be delivered when the Dispensation was come. Which as soon as He was safe on Shipboard, by a private Express, He commanded him to keep in his hands till further Order.

[*An. 1623.*] His Return to *England*, which was in *October* 1623, was entertained with so much Joy and Thanksgiving, as if He had been the happy *Genius* of the whole Nation ; and His entrance into *London* was as a Triumph for His Wisdom, their Bonfires lengthened out the day, and their Bells by uncessant ringing forbade sleep to those eyes which were refreshed with His sight. Nor could the People by age or sickness be confined at home, but despising the prescriptions of their Physicians, went to meet Him as restored Health.

When He had given the King an account of His Voyage, and the *Spanish* Counsels not to restore

reftore the *Palatinate*, a *Parliament* was Summoned, which was fo zealous of the Honour of the Prince, that both Houfes Voted an Addrefs to His Majesty, that he would no longer Treat, but begin a War with *Spain*; and defiring the Prince's Médiation (who was alwayes ready to gratifie the Nation) therein to His Father, they affured Him they would ftand by Him with their Lives and Fortunes : but yet when the War, with the Crown, descended unto Him, they fhamefully deserted Him in the beginning of His Reign.

When neither a Wife nor Peace was any longer to be expected from *Spain*, both were fought for from *France*, by a Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, the youngeft Daughter of *Henry the IV.* The Love of whom the Prince had received by the Eye, and She of Him by the Ear. For having formerly received impreffions from the Relations of His Gallantry; when She was told of His paffing through *Paris*, She answered (as it is reported) That if He went to *Spain* for a Wife, He might have had one nearer hand, and faved Himfelf a great part of the labour.

[*Anno 1625.*] In the midft of thefe Preparations for War and Love, King *James* died at *Theobalds*, Sunday March 27. *Anno 1625.* and Prince *CHARLES* was immediately proclaimed at the Court-Gate King of Great Britain,
France

France and Ireland, and so throughout all the Three Kingdoms, with infinite Rejoycings. The people expecting all the benefits of the happiest Government under Him, whose private and youthful part of Life had been so spent, that it had nothing in it to be excused, and where the eager inquisitors for matter of Reproach met with no satisfaction. An Argument of a solid Vertue, that could hold out against all the *Vices of Youth, that are rendred more impetuous by Flatteries and Plenty, which are continually resident in great Courts*. For had any debauchery polluted His earlier days, it had been published by those who in scarcity of just Accusations did invent unimaginable Calumnies. Nor could it have been hid, for *in a great Fortune nothing is concealed, but Curiosity opens the Closets and Bed-chambers, especially of Princes, and discovers their closest retirements, exposing all their Actions to Fame and Censure*. Nor did the King deceive their hopes, they being the happiest people under the Sun while He was undisturbed in the administration of Justice.

His first publick Act was the Celebrating His Fathers Funeral, whereat He Himself was Chief Mourner, (contrary to the Practice of His Royal Predecessors, and not conformable to the Ceremonies of State;) Either preferring Piety to an unnatural Grandeur; or urged by some secret Decree of Providence, that in all the ruines of His Family He should drink the greatest draught
of

of Tears; or His Spirit presaging the Troubles of the Throne, He would hallow the Ascent to it by a pious act of Grief.

When He had pay'd that debt to His deceased Father, He next provided for Posterity, and therefore hastened the coming over of His dearest Consort, Whom the Duke of *Chevereux* had in His Name espoused at the Church of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*; and He receiving Her at *Dover* the next day after *Trinity-Sunday*; at *Canterbury* began His Conjugal Embraces. A Lady of most excellent Endowments, who assumed to Her self nothing in His Good Fortune but the Joy; and in His Evil bore an equal share, for She revered Him, not his Greatness.

Thus having dispatched the affairs of His Family, He applies Himself to those of His Kingdoms, which too much Felicity had made unmanageable by a moderate Government. And He seemed not so much to ascend a Throne, as enter upon a Theatre, to wrestle with all the difficulties of a corrupted State; whose long Peace had softened almost all the Nobles into Court-pleasures, and made the Commons insolent by a great Plenty. The Rites and Discipline of Religion had been blotted out by a long and uninterrupted Prosperity, and Factions crept from the Church into the Senate, which were made use of by those that endeavoured the alteration of Government; and the Resolves of
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that Council were the dictates of some heady Demagogues, who fed the Vulgar with hopes of Novelty under the name of Liberty, so that the King could not endure their Vices, nor they His Vertues : whence came all the Obstructions to His Designs for Glory and the Publick good. The Treasury had been exhausted to satiate the unquiet and greedy *Scots* : and the people were taught not to supply it, unless they were bribed with the blood of some Minister of State, or some more advantages for Licentiousness. Each of these single would have ennobled the Care of an Ordinary Prudence to have weathered out : but when all these conspired with the traitorous Projects of men of unbounded and unlawful hopes, they took from Him His Peace, and that which the World calls Happiness ; but yet they made Him Great, and affording Exercises for His most excellent Abilities rendred Him Glorious.

The different states of these Difficulties, when like Clouds they were gathering together, and when they descended in showres of Blood, divide the King's Reign into two parts. The first could not be esteemed dayes of Peace, but an Immunity from Civil War. The other was when He was concluded by that Fatal Necessity, either to part with his Dignity, and expose His Subjects to the injuries of numerous Tyrants ; or else to exceed the calmer temper of His peacefull Soul, and make use of those necessary Arms, whereby

whereby He might hope to divert, if possible, the Ruine of Church and State which He saw in projection.

In the first Part He had no Wars at home but what was in the Houses of Parliament; which though their first Institution designed for the production of just Counsels, and assistances of Government, yet, through the just Indignation of Heaven, and the practises of some unquiet and seditious persons, became the wombs wherein were first conceived and formed those monstrous Confusions which destroyed their own Liberty, caused our Miseries, and the King's Afflictions.

His First Parliament began *June* 18. At the opening of which the *King* acquainted them with the necessity of Supplies for the War with *Spain*, which they importunately had through His Mediation engaged His Father in, and made it as hereditary to Him as the Crown. His Eloquence gave powerful Reasons for speedy and large summs of Money; did also audit to them the several disbursements relating both to the Army and Navy, that He might remove all Jealousies of mis-employment, and give them notice how well He understood the Office He had newly entred upon, and how to be a faithful Steward of the Publick Treasure. But the Projectors of the alteration of Government brought into debate two Petitions, one for

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Religion,

Religion, the other for Grievances, formed in King *James's* time, which delayed the Succours, and increased the Necessities, which at last they answered but with two Subsidies, too poor a stock to furnish an Army with; yet was kindly accepted, in expectation of more at the next Session. For the Infection seizing upon *London*, the Parliament was adjourned till *August*, when they were to meet at *Oxford*: and at that time He passed such Acts as were presented to Him.

At the next Session He gave a complying and satisfactory answer to all their Petitions, and expected a Retribution in larger Subsidies towards the *Spanish* War. But in stead of these, there were high and furious debates of Grievances, consultations to form and publish Remonstrances, Accusations of the *Duke of Buckingham*: Which the King esteeming as reproaches of His Government, and assaults upon Monarchy, dissolves that Assembly, hoping to find one of a less cholerick complexion after His Coronation.

This inauspicious Meeting drew after it another Mischiefe, the Miscarriage of the Designs upon *Spain*. For the supplies of Money being scanty and slow, the Fleet could not go forth till *October 8*. an unreasonable time in the *British* Seas; and their first contest was with Winds and Tempests, which destroying some, scatter-

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ed all the Ships. When they met, a more dangerous storm fell among the Soldiers and Seamen, where small Pay caused less Discipline, and a contempt of their General, the Lord *Wimbleton*, rendred the attempt upon *Cades* vain and fruitless. This was followed by a Contagion (to which some conceive discontented minds make the bodies of men more obnoxious) in the Navy, which forced it home, more empty of Men, and less of Reputation.

The Infection decreasing at *London*, the King performed the Solemnities of His Coronation *February* 2. with some alterations from those of His Predecessors: for in the Civil He omitted the usual Parade of Riding from the *Tower* through the City to *White-Hall*, to save the Expences that Pomp required, for more noble undertakings. In the Spiritual there was restored a Clause in the Prayers which had been pretermitted since *Henry VI.* and was this; *Let Him obtain favour for this People, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the Temple; give Him Peter's Key of Discipline, Paul's Doctrine.* Which though more agreeing to the Principles of *Protestantism*, which acknowledgeth the Power of Princes in their Churches, and was therefore omitted in the times of Popery; yet was quarrelled at by the Factious party, (who take advantages of Calumny and Sedition from good as well as bad circumstances) and condemned as a new

invention of Bishop *Laud*, and made use of to defame both the King and him.

After this He began a Second Parliament *February* 2. wherein the Commons voted Him Four Subsidies, but the Demagogues intended them as the price of the Duke of *Buckingham's* blood; whom Mr. *Cooke* and Dr. *Turner* with so much bitterness inveighed against, as passing the modesty of their former dissimulation they taxed the King's Government. Sir *Dudley Digges*, Sir *John Elliot* and others carried up Articles against him to the Lord's House, in which, to make the Faction more sport, the Duke and the Earl of *Bristol* did mutually impeach each other. By these contrasts the Parliament were so highly heated, that the Faction thought it fit time to put a *Remonstrance* in the forge, which according to their manner was to be a publick Invective against the Government. But the *King* having notice of it, dissolves the Parliament *June* 18. [*Anno* 1626.] and the Bill for the Subsidies never passed.

This misunderstanding at home produced another War abroad. For the King of *France* taking advantage of these our Domestick embroilments begins a War upon us, and seisseth upon the *English* Merchant Ships in the River of *Bourdeaux*. His pretence was, because the *King* had sent back all the *French* Servants of the *Queen*, whose insolencies had been intolerable.

nable. But the world saw the vanity of this pretext in the Example of *Lewis* himself, who had in the like manner dimitted the *Spanish* attendants of his own Queen: and that truly the unhappy Counsels in Parliament had exposed this Just Prince to foreign injuries. Which He magnanimously endeavoured to revenge, and to recover the goods of His abused Subjects; and therefore sent the Fleet designed for Justice upon *Spain* to seek it first in *France*. But the want of Money made the Preparations slow; and therefore the Navy putting out late in the year was by Storms forced to desist the enterprize. So that what was the effect only of the malice of His Enemies, was imputed by some to a secret Decree of Heaven, which obstructed His just undertakings for Glory.

[*Anno* 1627.] The next year the *King*, quickened by the Petitions of the *Rochellers*, who now sued for His Protection, as well as by the Justice of His own Cause, more early prosecuted His Counsels, and sent the Duke of *Buckingham* to attach the Isle of *Rhee*; which though alarmed to a greater strength by the last year's vain attempt, yet had now submitted to the *English* Valour, had not the Duke managed that War more with the Gayeties of a Courtier than the Arts of a Souldier. And when it was wisdom to forsake those attempts which former neglects had made impossible, being too greedy of Honour, and to avoid the imputati-

on of fear in a safe retreat, he loaded his overthrow with a new Ignominy, and an heavier loss of men, (the common fate of those *Who seek for glory in the parcels, lose it in the gross.*) Which was contrary to the temper of his Master, who was so tender of humane blood, that therefore He raised no Wars, but found them; and thought it *an opprobrious bargain to purchase the fruitless Laurels, or the empty name of Honour, with the lives of men, but where the Publick Safety required the hazard and loss of some particulars.*

This Expedition being so unhappy, and the Miseries of *Rochel* making them importunate for the *King's* Assistance, His Compassionate Soul was desirous to remove their Dangers, but was restrained by that necessitous condition the Faction had concluded Him under. To free Himself from which, that He might deliver the oppressed, He doth pawn His own Lands for 120000 pounds to the *City*, and borrows 30000 pounds more of the *East-India* Company : but this was yet too narrow a Foundation to support the charges of the Fleet, and no way so natural to get adequate supplies as by a Parliament; which He therefore summons to meet *March 17*, intending to use all Methods of Complacency to unite the Subjects Affections. to Himself.

Which in the beginning proved successful,
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for the modesty of the Subjects strove with the Piety of the *King*, and both Interests contended to oblige, that they might be obliged. The Parliament granted the *King* [*Anno* 1628.] five Subsidies, and He freely granted their Petition of Right, the greatest Condescension that ever any *King* made, wherein He seemed to submit the Royal Scepter to the Popular *Fasces*, and to have given Satisfaction even to Supererogation.

These auspicious beginnings, though full of Joy both to Prince and People, were matter of envy to the Faction; and therefore to form new Discontents and Jealousies, the Demagogues perswaded the Houses that the *King's* Grant of their Petition extended, (beyond their own Hopes and the Limits themselves had set, and what He had expressly mentioned and cautioned) even to the taking away His Right to *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. Besides this, they were again hammering a *Remonstrance* to reproach Him and His Ministers of male-administration. Which Ingratitude He being not able to endure, on *June* 26. adjourns the Parliament till *Octob.* 20. and afterward by Proclamation till *Jan.* 20. following.

In the interim, the *King* hastens to send succours to *Rochel*: and though the General, the Duke of *Buckingham*, was at *Portsmouth* assassinated by *Felton*, armed (as he professed) with the publick hatred; yet the Preparations were
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not slackned, the *King* by His personal industry doing more to the necessary furnishing of the Fleet in ten or twelve dayes than the Duke had done in so many months before. But in the mean while *Rochel* was barricadoed to an impossibility of Relief. Therefore the Earl of *Lindsey*, who commanded the Forces, after some gallant, yet fruitless attempts returned to *England*, and the *Rochellers* to the Obedience of the *French King*.

As Providence had removed the great Object of the Popular hate, and (as was pretended) the chief obstruction of the Subjects Love to their *King*, the Duke of *Buckingham*; so the *King* himself labours to remove all other occasions of quarrel before the next Session. He restores Archbishop *Abbot*, who for his remissness in the Discipline of the Church had been suspended from his Office, and was therefore the Darling of the Commons because in disgrace with the *King*, (*so contrary are the affections of a corrupted State to those of their Governours*) to the administration of it again. Dr. *Potter*, the great Calvinist, was made Bishop of *Carlisle*. Mr. *Mountague*'s Book of *Appello Casarem* was called in. Proclamations were issued out against Papists. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, an active Leader of the Commons, was towards the beginning of this Session, as Sir *John Savil* had been at the end of the last, called up into the Lord's House, being made Viscount *Wentworth*, and Lord President of the North. But

But the Honours of these Persons (whose parts the *King*, who well understood men, thought worthy of his Favour and Employment) seeming the rewards of Sedition, and the spoils of destructive Counsels, the Demagogues were more eager in the pursuit of that which these had attained unto, by the like Arts. And therefore despising all the *King's* obliging practices, in the next Sessions they assumed a power of reforming Church and State, called the Customers into question for Levying *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, made now their Invectives, as they formerly did against the Duke, against the Lord Treasurer *Weston*; so that it appeared that not the persons of men, but the *King's* trust of them, was the object of their Envy, and His Favour, though never so Vertuous, marked them out for Ruine. And upon these points they raised the heat to such a degree, that fearing they should be dissolved ere they had time to vent their passions, they began a Violence upon their own Body (an example which lasted longer than their Cause, and at last produced the overthrow of all their Priviledges.) They lockt the Doors of the House, kept the Key thereof in one of their own Pockets, held the Speaker by strong hand in the Chair, till they had thundred out their Votes, like dreadfull *Anathemaes*, against those that should Levy, and, which was more ranting, against such as should willingly pay the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*. This Force the *King* went with
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His Guard of Pensioners to remove; which they hearing, adjourned the House; and the *King* in the House of Lords declaring the Injustice of those Vipers who destroyed their own Liberties, dissolved the Parliament.

While the winds of Sedition raged thus furiously at home, more gentle gales came from abroad. The *French King's* designs upon other places required Peace from us, and therefore the Signiorie of *Venice* by her Ambassadors was moved to procure an Accord betwixt *Charles* and *Lewis*; which the *King* accepted. And not long after [*Anno 1629.*] the *Spaniard* pressed with equal necessities desired Amity; which was also granted. The *King* being thus freed from His domestick Embroilments and foreign Enmities, soon made the World see His Skill in the Arts of Empire, and rendred Himself abroad more considerable than any of His Predecessors. And He was more glorious in the eyes of the good, and more satisfied in His own breast, by confirming Peace with Prudence, than if He had finished Wars with destroying Arms. So that His Sceptre was the *Caduceus* to arbitrate the differences of the Potentates of *Europe*. His Subjects likewise tasted the sweetness of a Reign which Heaven did indulge with all its favours, but only that of valuing their Happiness. While other Nations weltered in blood, His people enjoyed a profound Peace, and that Plenty which the freedom of Commerce brings along with it.

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The *Dutch* and *Easterlings* used *London* as the surest Bank to preserve and increase their Trading. The *Spanish* Bullion was here Coined, which advantaged the *King's* Mint, and encreased the Wealth of the Merchants, who returned most of that Money in our native Commodities.

While He dispensed these Blessings to the People, Heaven was liberal to Him in giving Him a Son to inherit His Dominions, *May 29.* [*Anno 1630.*] which was so great matter of rejoicing to the People of uncorrupted minds, that Heaven seemed also concerned in the Exultation, kindling another Fire more than Ordinary, making a *Star* to be seen the same day at noon. (From which most men presaged that that Prince should be of high Undertakings, and of no common glory among Kings: which hath since been confirmed by the miraculous preservation of Him, and Heaven seemed to conduct Him to the Throne.) For this great blessing the *King* gave publick Thanks to the Author of it, Almighty God, at *St. Paul's Church*; and God was pleased in a return to those thanks with a numerous Issue afterwards to increase this Happiness. *For neither Armies nor Navies are such sure props of Empire as Children are. Time, Fortune, private Lusts, or Errors may take off, or change Friends: but those that Nature hath united must have the same Interest, especially in Royal Families, in whose Prosperities strangers may have a part, but their Adversities*

sities will be sure to crush their nearest Allies.

Prospering thus in Peace at home, a small time assisted His frugality to get such a Treasure, and gave Him leasure to form such Counsels as might curb the Insolence of His Enemies abroad. He confederated with other Princes to give a check to the *Austrian* Greatness, assisting by His Treasure, Arms and Counsel, the King of *Sweden*, to deliver the oppressed *German* States from the Imperial Oppressions. And when *Gustavus's* fortune made him insolent, and he would impose unequal Conditions upon the *Paltgrave*, the King's Brother in Law, He necessitated him notwithstanding his Victories to more easie Articles.

The next year was notorious for two Trials: one of the Lord *Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*, who being accused by all the abused parts of his Family of a prodigious wickedness and unnatural uncleanness, was by the King submitted to a tryal by his Peers; and by them being found Guilty, was Condemned, and his Nobility could be no patronage for his Crimes; (but in the King's eyes they appeared more horrid, because they polluted that Order) and was afterwards executed.

The other was of a tryal of Combate at a Marshal's Court, betwixt *Donnold* Lord *Rey*, a *Scotish* High-lander, and *David Ramsey*, a *Scotish*

tish Courtier. "The first accused the last to
 "have solicited him to a Confederacy with the
 "Marquess *Hamilton*, who was then Com-
 "mander of some Forces in assistance of the King
 "of *Sweden* : in which *Ramsay* said all *Scot-*
 "land was ingaged but three ; and that their
 "friends had gotten provision of Arms and
 "Powder out of *England* ; that the Court was
 "extremely corrupted ; and that the matters of
 "Church and State were so out of frame as must
 "tend to a Change.

There were no Witnesses, and the Defendant denying what the Appellant affirmed, the Tryal was thought must be by Duel. In order to which the *King* grants a Commission for a Court-Marshal : where though the presumptions of *Ramsay's* guilt were more heightned, yet the *King* hinders any further process by Combat, which is doubted whether it be lawfull ; either thinking none so foolish as to strive for Empire which He found so full of Trouble ; or knowing that *Magistracy being the sole Gift of Heaven, it was vain to commit a crime in hope of enjoying it, or in fear of losing it* : (which was the Principle upon which Excellent Princes have neglected the diligent Inquisition of Conspiracies) and fatally continues *Hamilton* in that favour as did enable him afterwards more falsely to act that Treason of which he was then accused.

[*Anno 1632.*] Some Tumults in *Ireland*
 shewed

shewed a defect in that Government, which made the *King* send over as Deputy thither the Lord *Wentworth*, a most accomplished Person in affairs of Rule, of great Abilities equal to a Minister of State. The *King's* choice of him he soon justified, by reducing that tumultuary people to such a condition of Peace and security as it had never been since its first annexion to this Crown, and made it pay for the Charges of its own Government, which before was deducted out of the *English* Treasury : their Peace and Laws now opening accessles for Plenty.

This enjoyment of Peace and Plenty through all the *King's* Dominions made Him mindfull of employing some fruits of it to the Honour of that God that caused it ; and not to let so great a Prosperity wholly corrupt the minds of men to a neglect of Religion, (which is usual) He shewed His own Zeal for the Ornaments of it, and spent part of His Treasure towards the repair of *St. Paul's* Church, and by His Example, Admonitions and Commands drew many of His Subjects to a Contribution for it ; and had restored it to its primitive lustre and firmness, adorned it to a magnificence equall with the Structure, which is supposed the goodliest in the Christian World, had not the Malice of His Enemies forced Him to Arms, mingled His Morter with the blood of innocent people, and sacrilegiously diverted all the Treasure and Materials gathered for this pious design, to maintain

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an impious and unjust War : and afterwards to dishonour His Cares for Religion, they barbarously made it a Stable for their Horse, and Quarters for their unhallowed Foot.

[*Anno 1633.*] Some Reasons of State drew the King from London, May 13. to receive the Imperial Crown of Scotland. Himself professed that *He had no great Stomach to the Journey, nor delight in the Nation, being a Race of men, that under the Scheme of an honest animosity and specious plain-dealing were most perfidious.* A full Character of their great Movers. Yet as He had been nobly treated all along His Journey by the English Nobility, so was He there magnificently received and crowned at Edinburgh, June 10. But the King soon found all those Caresses false. For the Nobility and Laick Patrons could not concoct His *Revocation* (though legal and innocent) of such things as had been stoln from the Crown during His Father's Minority, with a Commission for *Surrendry of Superiorities and Tithes* to be retaken from the King by the present Occupants (who could as then pretend no other Title than the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors) on such conditions as might bring some Profit to the Crown, (to which they justly belonged) some Augmentation to the Clergy, and far more ease and benefit to the Common People, whom by advantage of those illegal Tenures they oppressed with a most bitter Vassalage. This Act of His Majesty being so full of
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equity and publick good, those whose greatness was builded upon Injustice did not bare-facedly oppose it, but endeavoured to hinder that and all the other designs of Peace and Order, by opposing in the Parliament next after the Coronation the Act of *Ratification* of all those Laws which King *James* had made in that Nation for the better regulating the affairs of that Church, both as to the Government and Worship of it.

This was highly opposed by such as were sensible of their diminution by a legal restitution of their unrighteous Possessions. And although the King carried it by the major part of Voices; yet to prevent their own fires with the publick Ruine, they did most assiduouly slander it among the People as the abetting of *Popery*, and the betraying their Spiritual Liberty to the *Romish* yoke. These Calumnies received more credit by the King's Order for a more decent and Reverend Worship of God at His Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh*, conformably to the *English* Usage.

Their noise grew lowder by the Conccent of their party of *Malecontents* in *England*, who also took advantage to diffuse their poison from the King's Book of Sports, which King *JAMES* had in his time published in *Lancashire*, and was now ratified by King *CHARLES* for a more universal Observance. The Occasion of which

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was the Apostasie of many to *Popery*, (whose Doctrines and Practices are more indulgent to the licentious) through the rigid opinion of some Preachers, who equall'd all Recreations on the Sabbath (as they call'd it) to the most prodigious transgressions. On the contrary, some of the ignorant Teachers had perverted many to down-right *Judaism*, by the consequence of so strict an Observance of the Sabbath. And some over-busie Justices of Peace had suppressed all the Ancient Feasts of the *Dedications* of Churches. The King therefore intended by this edict to obstruct the success of the Enemies on both sides, and to free His People from the yoke of this Superstition. But (*such is the weakness of Humane Prudence, that the Remedies it applies to one Inconvenience are pregnant of another; and whereas the Generality of men seldom do good but as necessitated by Law, when Liberty is indulged, all things are soon filled with Disorder and Confusion.* And so) it happened in this, that the Vulgar abusing the King's Liberty, (which was no more than is granted in other Protestant Churches) and committing many undecencies, made many well-temper'd Spirits too capable and credulous of those importunate Calumnies of the Faction, that His Majesty was not well-affected to Religion.

[*Anno 1634.*] The boldness of the *Pickeroons, Turks*, and *Dunkirk-Pirates* infesting our
 D 2 Coasts,

Coasts, damaging our Traffique, the usurpation of the *Holland* Fishers on the *King's* Dominion in the Narrow Seas, and His Right disputed in a Tract by the Learned *Grotius*, call the *King's* next Cares for His own Honour, and the People's Safety. But the Remedy appeared exceeding difficult; the furnishing of a Navy for so honourable an undertaking being too heavy a burden for His Exchequer; which (although not emptied by any luxuriant Feasts, nor profusely wasted on some prodigal and unthrifty Favourite, nor lavished on ambitious designs, from all which destructions of Treasure no King was more free) was but just sufficient for ordinary and necessary Expences of State and Majesty. And though it was most just for Him to expect the Peoples Contribution to their own Safety, who were never richer than now, nor had they ever more Security for their riches than they now had by His Concessions of Liberty: yet knowing how powerfull the Faction alwayes was to disturb the Counsels of Parliament, He feared that from their Proceedings the Common Enemies would be encouraged (as formerly) to higher Insolencies, and the envious Demagogues would condemn their own safety to ruine His Honour. He also accounted it a great unhappiness to be necessitated to maintain His State by extraordinary wayes, and therefore refused to renew *Privy Seals* and *Loans*, the use of which He debarred Himself of in granting the Petition of Right. Therefore consults His Attorney.

turney-General Noy, whether the *Prerogative* had yet any thing left to save an unwilling people. Noy acquaints Him with *Ancient Precedents of raising a Tax upon the Nation for setting forth a Navie in case of danger*, and assures Him of the Legality of the way in proceeding by Writs to that effect. Which Counsel being embraced, there were Writs directed to the several Counties for such a Contribution, that in the whole might build, furnish and maintain 47 Ships for the safety of the Kingdom. And by these the *King* soon secured and calmed the Seas; but the Faction endeavoured to raise a Tempest at Land.

[*Anno 1635.*] They complained of Invasions on their *Spiritual* Liberties, because the Bishops endeavoured in these years to reduce the Ceremonies of the Church to their primitive Observance, of which a long Prosperity had made men negligent: and time had done that to the Spiritual Body which it doth to the Natural, daily amassed those Corruptions which at length will stand in need of cure. Therefore when they took this proper Method of reforming a corrupted State in bringing things back to their Original Institution; both His *Majesty* and they were defamed with designs of *Popery*.

This Tax of Ship-money was pretended a breach to their Civil Liberties, and contrary to Law, because not laid by a Parliament. There-

fore those who sought the People's favour to alter the present Government, by seeming the singular Patrons of their Rights, refused to pay the Tax, [*Anno* 1636.] and stood it out to a Tryal at Law. The Just *Prince* declined not the Tryal, and permitted Monarchy and Liberty to plead at the same Bar. All the Judges of the Land did justifie by their Subscriptions, that *it was legal for the King to levy such a Tax*; and their Subscriptions were enrolled in all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*. And when it came to be argued in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, ten of them absolutely declared for it; only two, *Crooke* and *Hutton*, openly dissented from that opinion to which they had formerly subscribed, not without the ignominy of Levity unbeseeming their places. And as the *King* was thus victorious in the Law, so was He at Sea; and having curbed the Pirates, He also reduced the *Hollanders* to a precarious use of His Seas.

Amidst all these Difficulties and Calumnies the *King* hitherto had so governed, that sober men could not pray for, nor Heaven grant in Mercy to a People any greater Happiness than what His Reign did afford. The *British* Empire never more flourished with Magnificent Edifices; the Trade of the Nation had brought the wealth of the *Indies* home to our doors; Learning and all good Sciences were so cherished, that they grew to Admiration, and many Arts of the Ancients, buried and forgotten by time, were revived

revived again. No Subjects under the Sun richer, and (which was the effect of that) none prouder. Security increased the Husband-mans stock, and Justice preserved his Life; none being condemned as to Life, but by the lawfull Verdict of those of an equal Condition, the Jury of his Peers. The poor might Reverence, but needed not Fear the Great: and the Great though he might despise, yet could not injure his more obscure Neighbour. And all things were so administred, that they seemed to conspire to the Publick good; except that they made our *Happineß too much the cause of all Civil Commotions*, and brought our Felicity to that height, that by the necessity of humane nature, which hath placed all things in motion, it must necessarily decline. And God provoked by our sins did no longer restrain and obstruct the arts and fury of some wicked men, who contemning their present certain enjoyments, hoped for more wicked acquisitions in publick Troubles; to overwhelm every part of the *King's* Dominions with a deluge of Blood and Misery, and to commence that War, which as it was horrid with much slaughter, so it was memorable with the Experiences of His Majesties Vertues; Confusions, like Winds, from every Coast at once assaulding and trying His Righteous Soul,

The first Storm arose from the North, and the flame first broke out in *Scotland*, where those Lords who feared they should lose their spoils

of Religion and Majesty, took all occasions to hasten the publick Misery (which at last most heavily lay upon their Country, the hands they had strengthened and instructed to fight against their Prince, laying a more unsupportable slavery upon them than their most impious Slanders could form in the imaginations of the credulous that they might fear from the *King*) by calumniating the *King's* Government, raising fears of Tyranny and Idolatry, forming and spreading seditious Libels. The Author, or at least the Abettor, of one of which was found to be the Lord *Balmerino*, a Traytor by nature, being the Son of one who had before merited death for his Treasons to King *James*, yet found that mercy from him as the Son now did from King *Charles*, to have his Life and Estate continued after condemnation. Yet this perfidious man interpreted the *King's* Clemency for his own Virtue; and he that had dared such a Crime, could not be changed by the Pardon of it; and as if he had rather received an Injury than Life, he was the most active in the approaching Rebellion.

[*Anno* 1637.] For the Rabble, that delights in Tumults, were fitted by this and other Bouteffes for any occasion of contemning the *King's* Authority (though His designs, that were thus displeasing to the Nobles, were evidently for the benefit of the Populacy) and at last took fire from the Liturgy, something differing from ours, (lest a full consent might argue a dependency upon the Church

Church of *England*) which some *Scotish* Bishops had composed and presented to the *King* for the use of their Church; which the *King*, who was desirous that those who were united under His Command might not be divided in Worship, confirmed, and appointed to be first read *July* 13. at *Edinburgh*, a City always pregnant with suspicions and false rumours. But it was entertained with all the instruments of Fury that were present to a debauched multitude: for they flung cudgels and sticks at the Dean of *Edinburgh* while he was performing his Office; and after that was done, re-inforc'd their assault upon the Bishops, whom the Earls of *Roxbrough* and *Traquair* pretended to protect, who induced some affronts, that their Patience might provoke a greater rage in the Multitude, which a vigorous punishment had easily extinguish'd. For *they that are fierce in a croud, being singled, through their particular fears become obedient. And that rabble that talks high against the determinations of their Prince, when danger from the Laws is within their ken, distrust their companions, and return to subjection.*

But it soon appeared that this was not the bare effort of a mutinous Multitude, but a long-formed Conspiracy; and to this Multitude, whose present terrour was great, yet would have been contemptible in a short space, there appeared Parties to head them of several Orders. Who presently digested their Partisans into several

veral Tables, and concocted this Mutiny into a formal Rebellion. To prosecute which they mutually obliged themselves and the whole Nation in a *Covenant* to extirpate *Episcopacy*, and whatsoever they pleased to brand with the odious names of *Herésie* and *Superstition*, and to defend each other against all Persons, not excepting the *King*.

To reduce this people to more peaceful Practices, the *King* sends Marquess *Hamilton* (one who being carell'd by His Majesties Favour had risen to such a degree of wealth and greatness, that now he dreamed of nothing less than Empire to bring his power to perfection, at least to be Monarch of *Scotland*, to which he had some pretensions by his birth) as His Commissioner. Who with a *species* of Loyalty dissembled that pleasure which he took in the opposition of the Covenanters, whose first motions were secretly directed by his counsels, and those of his dependents, *Traquaire* and *Roxbrough*, for all his Allies were of that party (contrary to the custom of that Country, where all the Members of a Family espouse the part of their Head though in the utmost danger :) and his Mother rid armed with Pistols at her Saddle-bow for defence of the Covenant. By his actings there new seeds of Discontents and War were daily sown, and his oppositions so faint, that he rather encreased than allayed their fury: By several returns to His Majesty for new Instructions
he

he gave time to the Rebels to consolidate their Conspiracy, to call home their Exiles of Poverty that were in foreign Armies, and provide Arms for open Force : By his false representations of the state of things, he induced the *King* to temporize with the too-potent Corruption of that Nation (an artifice *KING JAMES* had sometimes practised) and by granting their desires, to make them sensible of the evils which would flow from their own counsels. Therefore the *King* gave Order for revoking the *Liturgy*, the *High-Commission*, the Book of *Canons*, and the Five *Articles of Perth*.

But the Covenanters were more insolent by these Concessions, because they had gotten that by unlawful courses and unjust force which Modesty and Submission had never obtained ; and imputing these Grants to the *King's* Weakness, not his Goodness, they proceeded to bolder Attempts : Indicted an Assembly without Him, in which they abolished *Episcopacy* ; excommunicated the *Bishops* and all that adhered to them. Afterwards they seized upon the *King's* Revenue, surprised His Forts and Castles, and at last put themselves into Arms.

Provoked with these Injuries the *King* amassed a gallant Army, in which was a very great appearance of Lords and Gentlemen, and with these marches, and incamps within two miles of *Berwick*, within sight of the Enemy.

But

But their present Condition being such as could endure neither War nor Peace, they endeavoured to dissipate that Army, which they could not overthrow, by a pretence to a Pacification. For which they petition'd the *King*, who yielded unto it out of His innate tenderness of His Subjects Blood. So an Accord was made *June 17. [Anno 1639.]* and the *King* disbands His Army, expecting the *Scots* should do the like, according to the Articles of Agreement.

But they being delivered from Fear, would not be restrained by Shame from breaking their Faith. For no sooner had the *King* disbanded, but they protested against the *Pacification*, printed many false Copies of it, that might represent it dishonourable to the *King*, retained their Officers in pay, changed the old Form of holding Parliaments, invaded the Prerogatives of the Crown, and solicited the *French King* for an aid of men and money.

This perfidious abuse of His Majesty's Clemency made those that judge of Counsels by the Issue to censure the King's Facility. "Some
 "wondred how He could imagine there would
 "be any Moderation in so corrupt a Generation
 "of men, and that they who had broken the
 "Peace out of a desire of War, should now lay
 "aside their Arms out of a love to Quiet. That
 "there would be always the same causes to the
 "*Scots* of disturbing *England*, and opposing Government,

"vernment, their unquiet nature and Covetous-
 "ness: therefore unless some strong impression
 "made them either unable or unwilling to di-
 "stract our quiet, the *King* was to look for a
 "speedy return of their Injuries. Others attri-
 "buted the Accord to the *King's* sense that some
 "eminent Officers in His own Camp were pol-
 "luted with Counsels not different from the
 "Covenanters: and that *Hamilton* His Admi-
 "ral had betrayed the seasons of fighting by
 "riding quietly in the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*;
 "and had secret Conference with His Mother,
 "the great Nurse of the Covenant, on Ship-
 "board. But most referred it to the *King's*
 "innate tenderness of His Subjects Blood, and
 "to His Prudence not to defile His Glory with
 "the overthrow (which seemed probable) of
 "a contemptible Enemy, where the gains of
 "the Victory could not balance the hazards of
 "attempting it.

[*Anno 1640.*] While men thus discourse of
 the *Scots* Perfidiousness, the *King* prepares for
 another Army, and in order thereto calls a Par-
 liament in *Ireland*, and another in *England*, for
 assistances against the Rebels in *Scotland*. The
Irish granted Money to raise and pay 8000 men
 in Arms, and furnish them with Ammunition.
 Yet this Example, with the *King's* account of
 the Injuries done to Him and this Nation by
 the *Scots*, and his promise of for ever acquit-
 ting them of Ship-money if now they would
 freely

freely assist Him, prevailed nothing upon the *English* Parliament, whom the Faction drew aside to other Counsels. And when the King sent Sir *Henry Vane* to re-mind them of His desires, and to demand Twelve Subsidies, yet to accept of Six, he industriously (as was collected from His own and His Sons following practices) insisted upon the Twelve, without insinuation of the lesser quantity His Majesty would be contented with; which gave such an opportunity and matter for seditious Harangues, that the House was so exasperated, as that they were about to Remonstrate against the War with *Scotland*. To prevent this ominous effect of the falseness of His Servant, the King was forced to dissolve the Parliament *May 5.* yet continued the Convocation, which granted Him 4 s. in the pound for all their Ecclesiastical Promotions. But the Laity that in the House had not time to declame against His Majesties Proceedings, did it without doors; for being dispersed to their homes, they filled all places with suspicious Rumours and high Discontents: and in *Southwark* there was an open Mutiny began, which was not pacified without much danger, and the Execution of the principal Leaders.

The King thus betrayed, defamed and deserted by those who should have considered that in His Honour their Safety was embarked, though He had no less cause to fear

feare secret Conspiracies at Home, which were more dangerous because obscure, than the *Scots* publick Hostility; yet vigorously prosecuted His undertaking, and raised a sufficient Army: but could not do it with equal speed to His Enemies, who had soon re-united their dispersed Forces; and incouraged by the Faction, with whom they held Intelligence, in *England*, contented not themselves to stand upon the defence, but invaded us, and advanced so far before all the *King's* Army could be gathered together, that they gave a defeat to a Party of it ere the Rear could be brought up by the Earl of *Strafford*, who was appointed General, or the *King* could come to encourage them with His Presence.

He was no sooner arrived at His Army, but there followed Him from some *English* Lords a Petition, conformable to the *Scotch Remonstrance*, which they called the *Intentions of the Army*. So that His Majesty might justly fear some attempts in the South, while He was thus defending Himself from the Northern injuries. The *King* answered the Petitioners, *That before their Petition came He had resolved to summon all the Peers to consult what would be most for the Safety of the Nation and His own Honour*. Who accordingly met, *Sept. 24.* Where it was determined that a Parliament should be called to meet, *Nov. 3.* and in the mean time a Cessation should be made with the *Scots*,
with

with whom some Commissioners from the Parliament should Treat.

Novemb. 3. began that Fatal Parliament, which was so transported by the Arts of some unquiet persons, that they dishonoured the name and hopes of a Parliament, ingulfed the Nation in a Sea of Blood, ruined the *King*, and betrayed all their own Priviledges and the People's Liberty into the power of a Phanatick and perfidious Army. And although His Majesty could not hope to find them moderate, yet He endeavoured to make them so; telling them at their meeting, that He was resolved to put Himself freely upon the Affections of His *English* Subjects; that He would satisfie all their just Grievances, and not leave to malice it self a shadow to doubt of His desire to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom. He commended to their care the chasing out of the Rebels, the Provisions of His own Army, and the Relief of the oppressed Northern Counties.

But the Malignity of some few, and the Ignorance of more, employed that Assembly in other matters: First, In purging their House of all such as they conceived would not comply with their destructive enterprises; and for such men they either found some fault with their Elections, or made them Criminals in some publick Grievance; though others of a deeper
guilt

guilt they kept among them, that their Offences might make them obnoxious to their power, and obsequious to their commands. Then with composed Harangues they declaimed upon the publick Grievances, and reckoned up casual Misfortunes amongst designed Abuses of Government, every way raising up Contumelies against the present Power: and that which was fullest of Detraction and Envy was applauded as most pregnant with Liberty. Thus pretending several Injuries had been done to the People, they raised the Multitude to hopes of an unimaginable Liberty, and a discontent with the present Government. After this they set free all the Martyrs of Sedition, that for their malignant Libels had been imprisoned, and three of them were conducted through *London* with such a company of people adorned with Rosemary and Bays, as it seemed a Triumph over Justice and those Tribunals that sentenced them. Then they fell upon all the chief Ministers of State: they impeached the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; after him the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Finch*, Keeper of the Great Seal, the Judges that according to their Oath had determined Ship-money legal, and others; some of which fled, those that were found were clapt in Prison: so that the *King* was soon despoiled of those that were able or faithful to give Him Counsel, and others terrified in their Ministry to Him.

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While the Factious thus led the House, their Partisans without by their Instructions formed Petitions against the Government in Church and State; to which they seduced the ignorant Rabble in the City and several Counties to subscribe, and in a tumultuous manner to present them to their Patriots. Who being animated by the success of their Arts, fell to draw up a Bill for *Triennial* Parliaments, wherein the Power of calling that great Council of the Nation was, upon refusal of the *King*, and the neglect of others, devolved upon Constables. Which profanation of Majesty though the *King* dissuaded them from, yet they persisted in; and He passed it.

[*Anno* 1641.] After five Months time (for so long a space they took to rake up Matter and Witnesses to justify their accusation, and to give leisure to the Court for Overtures of gainful Offices to the great Sticklers against him; which not appearing) the Earl of *Stratford* is brought to his Trial in *Westminster-Hall* before the Lords as his Judges: (the *King*, *Queen* and *Prince* sitting behind a Curtain in an adjoining Gallery) and round about the Court stood the Commons. His Accusers and Witnesses were *English*, *Scotch* and *Irish*, (and indeed so brave a Person could not be ruined but by the pretended hatred of the whole Empire) The *English* were such as envied his Vertues,

tues, and greatness in the *King's* Favour. The *Scotch*, because they knew his Prudence able to counter-work their Frauds, discover their impudent Cheats, and his wise management to overthrow their Force. The *Irish* hatred arose from his just and necessary Severity in his Government, whereby he had reduced them from so great a Barbarousness that was impatient of Peace, to a Civility that was fertile of Plenty; and by Artifices, Husbandry and Commerce had rendred that tumultuary Nation so rich, that they were now able to repay to the *English* Treasury those great Debts which their former Troubles and Commotions had contracted. Although those of this Nation were *Papists*, and sworn Enemies both of the *English* name and State, and were even then practising and meditating their Rebellion, (which they hoped more easie when so wise a Governour was removed) and so prone enough of themselves to the Crime; yet were they much carested by the Faction, that these in the name of the whole Kingdom should press the *Earl* with envy to the Grave.

His Charge consisted of Twenty eight Articles (that their number might cover their want of Evidence.) To all which the *Lientenant* (whose Patience was not overcome, nor his nature changed by the Reproaches of his Accusers) answers with so brave a Presence of Spirit, such firm Reasons, and so clear an Eloquence,

quence, that he whom the mercenary Tongues of their Lawyers had rendred as a Monster of men, could not be found guilty of Treason, either in the particulars or the whole. So that his Enemies were filled with madness that their Charge of Crimes appeared no other than a Libel of Slanders; and the dis-interessed Hearers were (besides the pleasure they received to find so great Endowments polluted with no hainous Crimes) sensible of the unhappiness of those who are *Ministers of State among a Factioned people, where their prosperous Counsels are not rewarded, and unsuccessful, though prudent, are severely accused: when they err, every one condemns them, and their wise Advices few praise; for those that are benefited envy, and such as are disappointed hate those that gave them.* And such seemed the Fate of this Excellent Counsellour, whom nothing else but his great Parts, his Master's Love and Trust had exposed to this Danger.

The Faction being obstructed this way, by the Earl's Innocency and Abilities, from taking away his Life, move the House to proceed by a Bill of *Attainder*, to the making a Law after the Fact, whereby they Vote him guilty of High Treason: yet add a Caution, that it should not be drawn into a Precedent, seeking to secure themselves from a return of that Injustice upon themselves which they acted on him, intending to prosecute what they falsely charged him with,

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the Alteration of Government. Which yet passed not without a long debate and contention : for many that had none but honest hopes, disdained to administer to the Interest of the Faction in the blood of so much Innocent Gallantry ; and those that were prudent saw how such an Example opened the avenues to ruine of the best Persons, when once exposed to publick hatred. Therefore they earnestly dissuaded such a proceed. And fifty nine of the most eminent openly dissented when it came to the Vote ; whose Names were afterwards posted, and marked for the fury of the Rabble, that for the future they might not oppose the designs of the Factious, unless they desired to be torn in pieces.

In two dayes the Lower House past the Bill, so swift were the Demagogues to shed blood : but the Lords House was a little more deliberative (the *King* having amongst them declared His sense of the Earl's Innocency :) of whose slow Resolves the Faction being impatient, there came a seditious rabble of about 5 or 6000 of the dregs of the people, armed with Staves and Cudgels, and other Instruments of Outrage, (instigated by the more unquiet Members both of the House of Commons and the City) to the Parliament doors, clamouring *Justice, Justice* : and the next day, to raise their Fury, there was a report spread among them of some endeavours to prepare an Escape for the *Lieutenant of Ireland* ; therefore with more fierceness they raised

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their clamours, some objecting Treason to him, others their Decay of Trade, and each one either as he was instructed (for some of the House of Commons would be among them, to direct their Fury, and to give some order to their Tumult, that it might appear more terrible,) or the sense of his own necessities and lusts led him, urged his different motives for Justice : and at last, heated by their own motion and noise, they guard the doors of the House of Peers, offer insolencies to the Lords, especially the Bishops, as they went in, and threaten them if their Votes disagree from their clamours. And when they had thus made an assault on the Liberty of the Parliament (which yet was pretended to be so Sacred) they afterward set upon the neighbouring *Abby-Church*, where forcing open the doors they brake down the Organs, spoiled all the Vestments and Ornaments of the Worship : from thence they fly to Court, and disturb the Peace of it with their undecent and barbarous clamours : and at last were raised to that impudency, as to upbraid the *King*, (who from a Scaffold perswaded them as they passed by to a modest care of their own private affairs) with an unfitness to reign.

When some Justices of the Peace, according to the Law, endeavoured to suppress those Tumults by imprisoning the most forward and bold Leaders, they themselves were imprisoned by the Command of the Commons, upon pretext
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of an injury offered to the Liberties of the Subject ; of which one was (as they then dictated) *That every one might safely petition the Parliament* : yet when the *Kentish* men came to Petition for something contrary to the Gust of the Faction, they caused the *City* Gates to be shut upon them ; and when other Counties were meditating Addresses for Peace, by threatnings they deterred them from such honest undertakings. And when some prudent Persons minded the Demagogues how dishonourable it was for the Parliament not to suppress such Mutinies, they replied, that *their friends ought rather to be thanked and caressed.*

By these and other Arts having wholly overthrown the freedom of that Council, and many with-drawing themselves from such Outrages, when scarce the third part of the Peers were present, the Faction of that House likewise passed the Bill, the Dissenters being out-voted only by seven Voices. Yet all this could not prevail upon the *King*, though the Tumults were still high without, and within He was daily solicited by the Lords of His Palace (who now looked upon the Earl as the Herd doth on an hurt Deer, and they hoped his Blood would be the Lustration of the Court) to leave the Earl as a Sacrifice to the Vulgar Rage. Nor did the *King* any ways yield, till the Judges (who were now obsequious to the pleasures of the Parliament) declared He might do it by Law,

and the Earl by his own Letters devoted himself as a Victim for the publick Peace and His Majesties Safety : and then overcome with Importunities on all hands, and being abused by bad dealing of the Judges (as Himself complained to the Bishops whom He consulted in that Case, and the Bishop of *London*, who was one of them, answered, *That if the King in Conscience found him not guilty, He ought not to pass the Bill; but for matter of Law, what was Treason, he referred Him to the Judges, who, according to their Oath, ought to carry themselves indifferently betwixt Him and His Subjects.*) The other four Bishops that were then consulted, *Durham, Lincoln, Carlisle*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, were not so free as the Bishop of *London* was, and therefore the King observed a special blessing of God upon him. He at last with much reluctancy signed a Commission to some Lords to pass that Bill of *Attainder*, and another for *Continuation of the Parliament during the pleasure of the Two Houses.*

“ The passing of these two Bills, as some
 “ thought, wounded the *King's* Greatness more
 “ than any thing He ever did. The first, because
 “ it cut off a most exquisite Instrument of Empire, and a most faithful Servant : and none
 “ did more make use of this to pollute His Honour, than those who had even forced Him
 “ to it; like those malignant and damned Spirits who upbraid unhappy Souls with those
 “ Crimes

“ Crimes and ruines to which they themselves
“ have tempted and betrayed them. But the
“ heaviest Cenſor was Himſelf, for He never
“ left bewailing His Compliance, or rather Con-
“ nivence, with this Murder, till the iſſue of
“ His Blood dried up thoſe of His Tears.

“ By the other Bill He had, as ſome cenſured,
“ renounced His Crown, and granted it to thoſe
“ men who at preſent exerciſed ſo Arbitrary a
“ Power, that they wanted nothing but length
“ of time to be reputed Kings, and this they now
“ had gotten. But the more Speculative con-
“ cluded it an act of eſpecial Prudence, for the
“ King made that an evidence of His ſincere in-
“ tention to oblige His people, and overcome
“ the Malice of His Enemies with Benefits:
“ which the Faction would have uſurped, and
“ by the boldneſs of the attempt ingaged the
“ People to them as the only Patrons of their
“ Liberty. And they were furniſhed with an
“ Example for it by their Confederates in *Scot-*
“ *land*, who indicted an Aſſembly without the
“ King's leave, and continued it againſt His plea-
“ ſure; and (as *all imitations of Crimes exceed*
“ *their firſt pattern*) it was conceived theſe men
“ whoſe furies were more unjuſt, and ſo would
“ be more fierce, intended to improve that Pre-
“ cedent to the extremeſt guilt.

The Bill was no ſooner ſigned, but they ha-
ſtened the Execution; and ſo much the more
eagerly,

eagerly, because the *King* desired, in a most passionate Letter delivered by the *Prince* to the Lords, that that Excellent Soul which found so much Injustice on Earth, might have the more time to fit it self for the Mercy of Heaven. But this favour which became Christians to grant, agreed not with the Religion of his Adversaries, and therefore the second day after he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, (in his Passage thither he had a sight of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose Prayers and Blessing he with a low Obeisance begged, and the most pious Prelate bestowed them with Tears,) where with a greater presence of mind than he had looked his Enemies in the face did he encounter Death, and submitted his neck to the stroke of the Executioner. “ He was a person of a generous Spirit, fitted for the noblest enterprises, and the most difficult parts of Empire. His Counsels were bold, yet just, and he had a Vigour proper for the Execution of them. Of an Eloquence, next to that of His Master’s, masculine, and most excellent. He was no less affectionate to the Church than to the State, and not contented while living to defend the Government and Patrimony of it, he commended it also to his Son when he was about to die, and charged his abhorrency of Sacrilege. His Enemies called the Majesty of his Miene in his Lieutenantcy, Pride, and the undaunted execution of his Office on the contumacious, the Insolency of his fortune.

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" He was censured for committing that fatal Er-
 " rour of following the *King* to *London* and to
 " the Parliament after the Pacification with the
 " *Scots* at *Tork*; and it was thought, that if he
 " had gone over to his charge in *Ireland*, he
 " might have secured both himself and that
 " Kingdom for His Majesties Service. But some
 " attributed this Counsel to a necessity of *Fate*,
 " *whose first stroke is at the brain of those whom*
 " *it designs to ruine*, and brought him to feel
 " the effects of Popular Rage, which himself in
 " former Parliaments had used against Govern-
 " ment, and to find the Experience of his own
 " advices against the Duke of *Buckingham*. Pro-
 " vidence teaching us to abhor over-fine Counsels
 " by the mischiefs they bring upon their Authors.

The Fall of this Great Man so terrified the o-
 ther Officers of State, that the Lord *High Trea-*
surer resigned his Staff to the Hands from whence
 he received it; the Lord *Cottington* forsook the
 Mastership of the Court of *Wards*; and the
Guardian of the Prince returned Him to the
King: These Lords parting with their Offices,
 like those that scatter their Treasure and Jewels
 in the way, that they might delude the violence
 of their greedy pursuers. But the *King* was left
 naked of their faithful Ministry, and exposed
 to the Infusions and Informations of those who
 were either Complices or Mercenaries to the Fa-
 ction, to whom they discovered his most pri-
 vate Counsels.

When

When the Earl of *Strafford* was dead, then did the Parliament begin to think of sending away the *Scots*, who hitherto had much impoverished the Northern Counties, and increased the charges of the Nation : but now they were Voted to receive 300000 pound, under the notion of a Brotherly Assistance, but in truth, designed by the Faction, as a reward for their Clamours for the *Earls* Blood ; yet were they kept so long till the *King* had passed away more of His Prerogative, in signing the Bills to take away the *High-Commission* and the *Star-Chamber*. After which spoils of Majesty they disband the *English* and the *Scotch* Armies, *August* 6. and on the 10. of that Month the *King* follows them into *Scotland*, to settle, if it were possible, that Kingdom. But the *King* still found them as before : when He satisfied their greedy appetites, then would they offer Him their Lives and Fortunes ; but when gain or advantage appeared from His Enemies, they appeared in their proper nature ungrateful, changeable and perfidious, whom no favours could oblige, nor any thing but Ruine was to be expected by building upon their Love.

While the *King* was in *Scotland* labouring to settle that Nation by granting all that the Covetousness and Ambition of their Leaders pretended was for the Publick good, and so aimed at no less than a Miracle, by His Benefits to reduce

duce *Faith* (which, like *Life*, when it is once departed doth never naturally return) into those perfidious breasts; the Parliament adjourns, and leaves a standing *Committee* of such as were the Leaders or the Servants of the Faction. These prepared new Toils for His Majesties Return, and by them was the *Grand Remonstrance* formed: in it were reckoned for Grievances all the Complaints of men that were impatient of Laws and Government; the Offences of Courtiers, the displeasing Resolves of Judges, the Neglects or Rigours of the Ministers of Justice, the undigested Sermons of some Preachers, yea, the Positions of some Divines in the Schools, were all exaggerated to defame the present Government both in Church and State, and to magnifie the skill of these State-Physicians that offered Prescripts for all these Distempers. Besides, more easily to abuse the *Vulgar*, who reckon *Misfortunes as Crimes*, displeasing accidents were represented as designs of Tyranny; and those things which had been reformed, were yet mentioned as continued burthens. From which the people were assured there could be no deliverance but by the wisdom and magnanimity of the Remonstrants.

To prepare the way for this, the most opprobrious parts of it were first whispered among the Populacy, that by this seeming suppression men impatient of Secrets might more eagerly divulge them, and the danger appear greater by
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an affected silence. Then prodigious Calumnies (which none but souls prone to any wickedness could believe of so Great a man) were formed of the *King*, and such suspicions raised of Him and His Friends, as might force them to some Injuries which hitherto they forbore, and by securing themselves increase the Publick fears. For *Slanders do rather provoke most men than amend them; and the provoked think more of their safety, than to adjust their actions against their malicious Slanderers.* And when the minds of men were made thus solicitous concerning Dangers from the *King*, to make them more pliable and ductile, there was represented to them an inevitable anger of Heaven against the present state of things both in Church and State, testified by many Prodigies that were related, and portentuous Presages of Ruine. Certain Prophecies (for a credulity to which the *English* Vulgar are infamous) from unknown Oracles are divulged, which enigmatically describe the *King* as a Monster, and from such a Prince must proceed a change of Government. Some vain persons also, that gave themselves up to the Imposture of Astrology, were hired to terrifie the people with the insignificant Conjunctions of Stars, and from them to foretell ruines to the better part of the World, and an imminent destruction on men of the Long Robe, and Alterations of States.

These were done to temper the minds of men by a superstition for a guidance of their Ministers,

sters, who being conceived to be the Ambassadors of Heaven, were supposed to have it in their Commission, to declare the Conditions of War and Peace : and these, either through the same weakness capable of the like terrors with the Vulgar, or (which is more to be abhorred) corrupted, as some were, by the Caresses and gainful hopes that the Faction baited them with, did justify their fears, and increase them by applying some obscure Prophecies in Scripture to the present Times and People ; compared the pretended Corruptions of our Church with the Idolatries of *Israel*, and whatsoever was condemned in the Holy Records, was parallel'd with the things they disliked here, and all the Curses that God poured upon His irreconcilable and obdurate enemies, were denounced against such as differ'd from them, or would not joyn with the Faction.

To make these Harangues more efficacious, the Authors of them received the Reverence of the Demagogues, who (despising , questioning and exposing to Affronts such sober Divines as would have cured the madness of the People,) appropriated to such Teachers the Titles of Saints, Faithful Ministers, Pretious men ; and they on the other side made a return of Epithets to their Masters, of the Servants of the Most High, such as were to do the Work of the Lord ; That by their Counsels men were to expect new Heavens and a new Earth ; that they were men that should

should prepare the Kingdom for Jesus Christ, and lay the Foundations of the Empire of the Saints which was to last a Thousand years. To make the Cry yet louder, they permitted all Sects and Heresies a Licence of publick profession, (which hitherto Discipline, the Care of the Common Peace and Religion had confined to secret corners) and permitted the Office of Teaching to every bold and ignorant undertaker; so that at last the dregs of the People usurped that Dignity, and Women, who had parted with the natural modesty of their Sex, would not only speak, but also rule in the Church. All these, in gratitude for their Licentiousness, still persuaded to their hearers the admiration of the Authors of it, and bitterly inveighed against those whom the Care both of the Souls and Fortunes of men would excite to repress them, in many of their Raptures denouncing Wo and Judgement to the lawful Governours in Church and State.

While all these Methods of Ruine were preparing here, the same anger of God, the same madness of men raised up another Tempest in *Ireland*. For the *Popish* Lords and Priests of *Ireland* (who were the prime composers of the Tragedies there,) were encouraged by the Success of the *Scots*, who by a prosperous Rebellion (as the Historian of those Troubles writes) had procured for themselves such large Privileges, to an imitation, which the present Jealousies in
England

England (where mutual Contrasts would employ all their force upon one another,) promised to be secure. And they had an happy opportunity by the Vacancy in Government through the slaughter of the Earl of *Strafford*, with whom the *Irish* Lords (while they prosecuted him in *England*) had removed all those other inferiour Magistrates that were most skillfull in the affairs of that Kingdom, by accusing to the Faction some of them of Treason, and others of an inclination to the *Earl*, and had got preferred to their charges such as were either altogether unacquainted with the *Genius* of that People, or favourers of the Conspiracy. A strength they had also ready; for those 8000 which had been listd for the *Scotish* Expedition were unseasonably disbanded, and the *King* in foresight they might cause some mischief in their own Country, had therefore promised 4000 of them to the *King of Spain*: yet would not the Parliament consent to their departure, because (as the *Irish* Lords suggested) it would displease the *King of France*; and when the *King* promised to send as many to the *French* Camp, that likewise was not relished. The Common Souldiers of that Army being thus made useles, and therefore like men of their employment most fierce when they were to be dismissed from the dangers of War, were easily drawn into the Rebellion, although very few of their Officers were polluted with the Crime.

The *Irish* Lords and Priests being allured by these our Vices and these several opportunities, began their Rebellion *Octob. 23.* The *Irish* throughout that whole Kingdom on a sudden invading the unprovided *English* that were scattered among them, despoiling them of their Estates, Goods, and many thousands of their Lives, without any respect of Sex, Age, Kindred, or Friendship, and made them as so many Sacrifices to their bloody Superstition. They missed but a little to have surpris'd *Dublin*. But their Conspiracy being detected there and in some few other places, the *English* name and interest was preserved in that Kingdom, till they could receive Succours from hence.

The *King* had the first intelligence of it, in its very beginnings, in *Scotland*, and thereupon sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with His Knowledge, and Instructions, and to carry all that Money that His present Stores could supply. Besides, He moves the Parliament of *Scotland*, as being nearest, to a speedy help; who decline their Aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*. At the same time also He sends post to the Parliament of *England*; who less regard it, the Faction applauding their fortune, that new Troubles were arisen to molest the *King*, and that the Royal Power being thus assaulted in all three Nations, there

there must shortly arise so many new Commonwealths. Besides that it yielded fresh matter of reproach to His Majesty, to whose Counsels at first secretly they whispered, and at last publicly imputed that horrid Massacre. Which Slanders were coloured by the Arts of the *Irish* Rebels, who, to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragged *that the Queen was with their Army; That the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; That they did but maintain His Cause against the Puritans; That they had the Kings Commission for what they did,* shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an Old broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby, by one *Plunkett*, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many. *That the Scots were in confederacy with them,* to beget a faith of which, they abstained from the lives and fortunes of those of that Nation among them.

On the other side, to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produce fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from *England* that *the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the Irish should be compelled to the Protestant Worship; that for the first offence they should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their Lives.* Besides, they present them with the hopes of Liberty:

That the English Yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the English should be divided among the Natives. And with these hopes of Spoil and Liberty the Irish were driven to such a Fury, that they committed so many horrid and barbarous acts as scarce ever any Age or People were guilty of.

In the mean while nothing was done for the relief of the poor *English* there, but only some Votes passed against the Rebels, till the *King* returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*: where He with the *Queen* and the *Prince* were magnificently feasted by the *Citizens*, and the Chief of them afterwards by Him at *Hampton-Court*. For he never neglected any honest Arts to gain His Peoples love; to which they were naturally prone enough, had not His Enemies methods and impulses depraved their *Genius*. But this much troubled the Faction, who envied that Reverence to Majesty in others which was not in themselves, and they endeavoured to make these loves short and unhappy; for they discountenanced the prime advancers of this Honour to the *King*, and were more eager to render Him odious. For having gotten a Guard about them, they likewise insinuated into the people dangerous apprehensions as the cause of that Guard, and every day grew more nice, and jealous of their Priviledges, and Power. The *King's* advices to more tenderness
of

of His Prerogative, or His Advertisements of the scandalous Speeches that were uttered in their House, they interpret as encroachments upon their Grandeur, and upbraided the *King* for them in their Petitions to Him.

But their greatest effort upon Majesty was the Remonstrance; after which they took all occasions to magnifie the apprehensions of those Fears which they had falsely pretended to in it. This the Faction had before formed, and now brought into the House of Commons; where it found a strong opposition by those wise men that were tender of the publick Peace and Common Good: though those who preferred their Private to the General Interest, and every one that was short-sighted and improvident for the future, were so fierce for it, that the Debates were continued all night till ten a clock the next morning, so that many of the more aged, and persons of best fortunes (not accustomed to such watchings) were wearied out, and many others, not daring to provoke the Faction in this their grand Design, left the House; so that at last they carried it, yet but by eleven Votes. Which they presented with a Petition to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Lords, and the Ceremonies in the Church, and to remove those Persons from His Trust which they could not confide in; yet named none, but only accused all under the name of a *Malignant Popish* Party. Which they had no sooner deli-

vered than they caused it to be published in Print.

To which the *King* answers in another publick Declaration, but so much to the discontent of the Demagogues, to find their Methods of Ruine so fully discovered as they were in His Majesties Answer, that they had recourse to their former sovereign Remedy, which sober men accounted a crime, and an indignity to Government, the Tumults of the Rabble. Who in great numbers and much confusion came up to *Westminster*, some crying out against Bishops, others belching their fury against the Liturgy, and a third party roaring that the Power of the *Militia* should be taken out of the *King's* hands. To their Clamours they added rude Affronts to those Lords whom their Leaders had taught them to hate, and especially to the Bishops, at their going in or coming out of the House : and afterwards drawing up to *White-Hall*, they appeared so insolent, as it was evident they wanted only some to begin, for there were enough to prosecute an Assault upon the *King* in His own Palace.

The Bishops thus rudely excluded from their Right and Liberty of coming to the Parliament, Twelve of them afterwards protest against the Proceedings of it, during their so violent Exclusion. Which Protestation the Commons presently accused of High Treason, and caused their
Commitment

Commitment to the *Tower*; where they continued them till the Bill against their Votes in the Lords House was past, that they might not produce their Reasons for their Rights, and against the Injustice offered unto them, and then afterwards released them.

The *King* also saw it necessary to take a Guard of such Gentlemen as offered their Service for His Safety, and to prevent the prophaning of Majesty by the rude fury of the People, who used to make their Addresses acceptable at *Westminster*, by offering in their passage some base Affronts at *White-Hall*. But when the terrour of this Guard had reduced them to some less degree of Impudency, they then, instructed by their Heads, laboured to make it more unsafe to the *King*, by seeking to raise the Rage and Jealousie of the whole City against Him. For at midnight there were cries out in the Street, that all People should arise to their defence; for the *King* with His *Papists* were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds. Than which though nothing was more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the People by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with Madness.

The *King* therefore, not alwaies to incourage these Violences with Patience, but at last

by a course of Justice to take off those whom He had found to be the Authors of these destructive Counsels, the grand Movers of these Seditious practices, and, which was more, the Invited of a Foreign Force, the *Scotch* Army, into this Nation; commands His Attorney General to accuse Five Members of the House of Commons, and one of the Lords, upon Articles of High Treason, to be tried according to the Laws of the Land: and He also sends some other Officers to seal up their Trunks and Cabinets in their several Lodgings, and to secure their Persons. This being related to the House of Commons (wherein the Faction was now grown more powerful, and with whom did joyn many men of Integrity in this Occurrence, being too careful of the Priviledges of their House, which yet secure none of the Members against Justice for Murder, Felony, or Treason) they were so far from admitting the *King's* Charge against them, that they accused the *King* of breach of Priviledge, and Vote all those guilty of Enmity to the Common-wealth that shall obey the *King* in any of His Commands concerning them.

This Obstruction of Justice so far moved the *King*, together with the Advice of some of His Council that were also of the House of Commons, as also an hope of rooting up the Faction this way, that none through the hope of Concealment should be encouraged to conspire the publick

publick Ruine, that He Himself, with about an hundred Lords and Gentlemen and their followers, went to the House of Commons : Where commanding His Attendants to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any although provoked, Himself with the *Paltzgrave* only enters the House, and demands that the Incendiaries might be delivered into His hands, with whom He promises to deal no otherwise than according to the Law. But they whom he sought, being before informed (as it is reported) of the *King's* coming by the secret Intelligence of *Marquess Hamilton*, and a Court Lady (who having lost the Confluence of Servants with her Beauty, sought now to prevent a solitude by politick ministeries) had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the Sanctuary of the *City*. Wherefore the *King* having renewed His Charge, without injury to any immediately departs.

But the Faction would not let Him so rest, but prosecuted this attempt of His with all the Clamours that they possibly could raise, spread the sparks of Dissention far and wide, make the common people mad with Fears and Distractions, stir up some in several Counties to bring Petitions for the impeached Members and their Violated Priviledges; and at last prepare an armed Rabble disposed into Order to bring the accused Demagogues to the House from their
Coverts

Coverts in *London*. This coming to the knowledge of the *King*, although many Gallant and faithful Persons proffered their Service by mingling with the Rout, or by being as Spectators, to curb any Insolencies that should be attempted on Him ; yet was He resolved to withdraw Himself with the Queen and their Children to *Windsor*, that He might permit their Fury to languish when it had no opposition, and to give time for their jealousies and rumours to wax old and perish. For *the first Indignation of a mutinous Multitude is most fierce, and a small delay breaks their consent* : and *Majesty would have a greater Reverence, if any, at a distance.*

The *King's* Wisdom was perceived by His Enemies, and therefore to counterwork it, and not to let the people sleep without fear, lest they should come to be sober, and return to the love of Obedience, strange reports were every day brought of dangers from the *King* : That troops of Papists were gathered about *Kingston* upon the *Thames*, where the County Magazine was lodged, under the Command of the Lord *George Digby*, who was then famed to be a *Papist*, (though at that time he was an elegant Assertor of the Protestant Faith,) and Col. *Lunsford*, who was characterised to be of so monstrous an appetite that *he would eat Children*. And parties were sent to take them both, which found no such dreadful Preparations. At other times, when the People on the Lord's dayes were at

Divine

Divine Worship, they were distracted from it by Alarms, that the *Papists* (who and from whence none could tell) were up in Arms, and were just then about to fire their Houses, and mix their Blood with their Prayers : That there were Forces kept in Grotts and Caves under ground, that should in the night break out into the midst of the City, and cut all their throats : And what was more prodigious, and though ridiculous, yet had not a few believers in *London*, That there were designs by Gunpowder to blow up the *Thames*, and choak them with the water in their beds. Thus were the people taught to hate their Prince, and by bloody news from every Quarter they were instructed to that Cruelty which they vainly feared, and to adore those by whose Counsels they were delivered from so unexpected Dangers.

By all this the Faction gained the repute of Modesty inferiour to their supposed Trust, when they demanded nothing else but the Command of the Tower, and the *Militia* of all the Counties in *England*, together with the Forts and Castles of the same. For all which they moved the House of Commons to petition : who desiring the Conjunction of the Lords in the same, were wholly refused by them. Therefore stemmed by the Faction they petition alone. Which unlimited Power the *King* absolutely refused to grant unto them, who He foresaw would use that, as they had all His other Concessions, to the

the ruine of the Author of their Power. Yet was pleased to consent, after He had demonstrated the prejudice they required to the *English* Nation, that they might send over an Army of 10000 *Scots* into *Ireland*, and deliver unto them the strong Town and Port of *Carickfergus*, one of the Chief Keys of that Kingdom : which was done to oblige the *Scots* to them in their future designs. And also He was pleased to wave the Prosecution of the Impeached Members, and was willing to grant a Free and General Pardon for all His Subjects, as the Parliament should think convenient.

But all this could not content them who had immoderate desires, and they were more discontented that they could not usurp the *King's* Rights, than if they had lost their own Privileges : therefore to bring the Lords to a concurrence with them, the hitherto prosperous Art of Tumultuous Petitions was again practised, and great Numbers from several Counties were moved to come as Earthquakes, to shake the Fundamental Constitutions of their House, and to require that neither the Bishops nor the Popish Lords should continue in their Ancient Right to Vote among the Peers. By this means they should weaken the *King* in the Voices of that House, and whosoever they could not confide in, they could fright him from Voting against them, by exposing him as Popish to the Popular Fury. For this was the method of using the
Petitions.

Petitions. The most common Answer was with Thanks, and that *the House of Commons were just now in consideration thereof*. The Petitioners were taught to reply, that *They doubted not of the care of the Commons House, but all their distrust was in the House of Lords, where the Popish Lords and Bishops had the greatest Power, and there it stuck, whose names they desired to know* : and in this they were so earnest, that they would not willingly withdraw whilst it was debated, and then they had leave to depart with this Answer, *That the House of Commons had already endeavoured Relief from the Lords in their Requests, and shall so continue till Redress be obtained*. Such Petitions as these were likewise from the several Classes of the inferiour Tradesmen about London, as *Porters, Water-men*, and the like : and that nothing of testifying an universal Importunity might be left unattempted, *Women* were perswaded to present Petitions to the same effect. While the Faction thus boasted in the success of their Arts, Good men grieved to see these daily Infamies of the supreme Council of the Nation, all whose Secrets were published to the lowest and weakest part of the People : and they who clamoured it as a breach of their Priviledge, that the *King* took notice of their Debates, now made them the Subjects of Discourse in every Shop, and all the corners of the Street ; where the good and bad were equally censured, and the Honour and Life of every Senator exposed

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to the Verdict of the Rabble. No Magistrate did dare to do his Office, and all things tended to a manifest Confusion : So that many sober Persons did leave *the Kingdom*, as *unsafe, where Factions were more powerful than the Laws. And Just Persons chose rather to hear than to see the Miseries and Reproaches of their Country.*

On the other side, to make the *King* more pliable, they tempt Him by danger in His most beloved Part, the *Queen*, concerning whom they caused a Rumour, that *they did intend to impeach Her of High Treason.* This Rumour made the deeper Impression, because they had raised most prodigious Slanders (which are the first Marks for destruction of Princes) on Her ; and when they had removed all other Counsellors from the *King*, She was famed to be the Rock upon which all hopes of Peace and Safety were split : That She commanded no less His Counsels than Affections, and that His Weakness was so great, as not to consent to or enterprize any thing which She did not first approve : That She had perverted Him to Her Religion, and formed designs of overthrowing the Protestant Profession. These and many other of a portentuous falshood were scattered among the *Vulgar*, who are always most prone to believe the Worst of Great Persons : and the uncontrolled Licence of reporting such Calumnies is conceived the first Dawning of Liberty. But the Parliament taking notice of the Report, sent some of their House

to purge themselves from it, as *an unjust Scandal cast upon them.* To which the *Queen* mildly answers, *That there was a general Report thereof, but She never saw any Articles in writing, and having no certain Author for either, She gave little credit thereto; nor will She believe they would lay any Aspersions upon Her, who hath been very unapt to misconstrue the actions of any One person, and much more the Proceedings of Parliament, and shall at all times wish an Happy Understanding between the King and His People.*

But the *King* knowing how usual it was for the Faction by Tumults and other Practices to transport the Parliament from their Just Intentions in other things, and that they might do so in this, resolved to send Her into *Holland*, under colour of accompanying their Eldest Daughter, newly married to the Prince of *Orange*; but in truth to secure Her, so that by the fears of Her danger (who was so dear unto Him) He might not be forced to any thing contrary to His Honour and Conscience, and that Her Affections and Relation to Him might not betray Her Life to the Malice of His Enemies. With Her He also sent all the Jewels of the Crown, that they might not be the spoils of the Faction, but the means of the support of Her Dignity in foreign parts, if His Necessities afterwards should not permit Him to provide for Her otherwise. Which yet She did not so employ, but reserved

reserved them for a supply of Ammunition and Arms, when His Adversaries had forced Him to a necessary Defence. It was said that the Faction knew of this conveyance, and might have prevented it, but that they thought it for their greater advantage that this Treasure should be so managed, that the *King* in confidence of that assistance might take up Arms, to which they were resolved at last to drive Him. For they thought their Cause would be better in War than Peace, because their present Deliberations were in the sense of the Law actual Rebellions; and a longer time would discover those Impostures by which they had deluded the People, who would soon leave them (as many now did begin to repent of their Madness) to the Vengeance which was due to their practices, unless they were more firmly united by a communion of guilt in an open assaulting their Lawfull Prince.

The *King* hastens the security of the *Queen*, and accompanies Her as far as *Dover*, there to take his farewell of Her; a business almost as irksome as death, to be separated from a Wife of so great Affections and eminent Endowments: and that which made it the more bitter was, that the same cause which forced Her Separation from Him set Her at a greater distance from His Religion, (the only thing wherein their Souls were not united) even the Barbarity of His Enemies who professed it, yet were so irreconcilable

able to Vertue, that they hated Her for Her Example of Love and Loyalty to Him. While He was committing Her to the mercy of the Winds and Waves, that She might escape the Cruelty of more unquiet and faithless men, they prosecute Him with their distasteful Addressee, and at *Canterbury* present Him with a Bill for taking away Bishops Votes in Parliament. Which having been cast out of the House of Peers several times before, ought not by the Course and Order of Parliament to have been admitted again the same Session. But the Faction had now used their accustomed Engine, a Tumult, and it was then passed by the Lords, and brought hither together with some obscure Threats, that if it were not signed, the *Queen* should not be suffered to depart. (By such impious Violences did they make way for that which they call'd *Reformation*.) This His *Majesty* signs, (though after it made a part of His penitential Confessions to God) in hopes that that Bill being once consented to, the Fury of the Faction, which with so great Violence pursued an absolute Destruction of the Ecclesiastical Government, would be abated, as having advanced so far in their design to weaken the *King's* Power in that House by the loss of so many Voices, which would have been alwayes on that side where Equity and Conscience did most appear. But He soon found the Demagogues had not so much Ingenuity as to be compounded with, and they made this but a step to the over-

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throw

throw of that which He designed to preserve.

When His *Majesty* was come back as far as *Greenwich*, He met with many informations how averse the Faction was to Peace, and that their Proceedings were raised to a level with their Principles, which some of them published, *That the Alteration they did intend, and which was necessary both in Church and State, must be made by Blood.* Therefore they endeavoured by their Calumnies to create an Hatred of Him, and to despoil Him of all the hopefull Effects of His Condescensions. For *when a Prince is once hated, his Benefits do him no less hurt than Injuries.* In order to this, Mr. *Pym* had publickly charged Him with a Connivence at least, if not with the Contrivance of the *Irish* Rebellion: because many Papists had His *Majesties* immediate Warrant for their transport thither. This the *King* requires satisfaction for, shewing the Falshood and Malice of the Defamer, by giving an Account of the date of the several Warrants. But the Faction so far prevailed as to make it a Publick Sin, and the House was perswaded to believe and acknowledge it to be their common sense. Many others had uttered seditious Speeches in the House, especially Master *Marten*, a man of all Uncleanesses, a publick contemner of Religion and Honesty, that had wasted a large Patrimony (which he had likewise unjustly morgaged to several and different Creditors) in the most infamous Lusts, and sought
a greater

a greater licence and fresh supplies for them by the ruine of the State; at which he was powerful, being of as impure and lascivious a Wit as he was of Life, wherewith he used to prophane God and His Vicegerents: yet serving the ends of Confusion, had his name among the Catalogue of those that were to do the *Work of the Lord*. Besides the attempts upon His Honour, they endeavour another upon His Family, and to seize upon the *Prince*. Which the *King* hearing, sends for Him and the *Duke of York*, and immediately removes to *Theobalds* in order to His journey towards the North, where He intended to settle His abode, till He saw what Issue this Storm would have.

This removal of the *King* was variously censured. "Some thought it unadvisedly done, to withdraw so far from *London*, to leave His chief City wholly to the practices, and expose His Friends there to the Impostures and Injuries of His Enemies. Others, especially the Friends of the Faction, defamed it as a preparing Himself for that War which followed. But others concluded it as an act of Necessity, and where there was no choice for Prudence. For when He had passed more obliging Acts, and parted with so much of His Prerogative and so many undoubted Rights of His Crown, as could not be equalled by the Grants of all His Predecessors, yet He found that He had effected nothing more by giving, than to make the

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"Faction

" Faction more eagerly desire what they knew
 " He must in Honour and Conscience deny; and
 " that the People were so bewitched as not to
 " see, *it is safer to trust Him who was content-*
 " *ed with a less degree of Power, than those*
 " *whose ambition and avarice knew no bounds:*
 " Who being thus deluded as so far to admini-
 " ster to the Lusts of their Disturbers, would
 " not fail their assistance to seize upon His
 " Person, unless in time He did provide for
 " His Liberty. Nor could it be imagined that
 " He meditated a War, who to make His Peo-
 " ple happy (if they had not despised their own
 " Mercies) had deprived Himself of a power to
 " manage it. For besides those Acts formerly
 " mentioned, He had signed many other as pre-
 " judicial to such an undertaking. For He had
 " passed Acts against His own Power of Impres-
 " sing Souldiers, His Right to Tonnage and
 " Poundage, the Stannary Courts, Clerk of the
 " Market, the Presidial Courts in the North,
 " and Marches of *Wales*; whereby He had not
 " only diminished His Greatness, and that Re-
 " verence which was due to the Crown, but
 " also so straitned His Revenue as it was not
 " able to maintain *Discipline, without which no*
 " *hopes of Victory, especially in a Civil War.* Be-
 " sides, His Enemies in every County had in-
 " jured His *Fame, which is of great moment in*
 " *the deciding Controversies by the Sword*; and
 " the City of *London*, which is the grand Trea-
 " surie of the Wealth and Strength of the whole
 " Nation,

" Nation, was now enslaved by the Rabble to
 " their commands. All which considerations
 " as they could not escape so Wise a Prince, so
 " would they not permit the Designs of War,
 " especially in that Breast, to which it was
 " equally miserable to suffer the spilling of His
 " Subjects blood, as to expose Himself to Ruine.
 " So that His departure from *London* was not
 " of Design, but Necessity, nor was there in it
 " more of Fear than Shame ; for He could no
 " longer endure those detestable *Spectacula* in
 " which Tumults like Beasts were let loose to
 " assault the Majesty of Government.

While the *King* thus provides for His Liber-
 ty, the Faction proceed to usurp the *Militia*,
 which His Majesty had denied, and the Lords
 were ashamed to ask : therefore they privately
 incourage their Partisans in all the Cities and
 Boroughs where they were most powerfull, to
 appoint Musters, to arm and train their Youth,
 and module them into Companies ; which after-
 wards (though contrary to the Law) they move
 the Lower House to Vote Legal, and to make
 an Order in the Name of the Parliament for the
 Constituting of Deputies to the same purpose
 in every County : and at last, by the Tumults
 which they raised, the Threats they used to di-
 vulge the names of the dissenting Lords, and se-
 cret promises to some others (for Mr. *Pym* told
 the Earl of *Dover*, *he must look for no Prefer-*
ment unless he joyned with them) they prevail-

ed upon the House of Peers, when many of the most eminent were absent, to joyn in a Petition for the *Militia*, upon pretence of great Dangers at home, and more prodigious terrours from abroad, pretending that by Intelligence from *Paris*, *Rome* and *Venice*, they were assured of great designs to overthrow the Parliament, together with the Protestant Religion; (whose fate and Interest they would have it imagined, was so twisted with theirs, that like those Twins they could not laugh nor grieve but in Conjunction.) This Paper being presented to His Majesty, whose Soul was wholly devoted to Peace, when it did not betray Religion and the Trust Heaven had committed unto Him, He proposes to them Expedients whereby they might be associated with Him in the Power of the *Militia*, which Honour and Conscience forbad Him to develt Himself wholly of, and passionately adjures them to lay aside their vain and empty Terrours, whereby they distracted and divided the People, not suffering them to enjoy the Peace and Gracious Concessions wherein He had exceeded the Goodness of all His Predecessors.

But they, who had projected to themselves the whole Power, would not be contented with a Partner in it, and therefore despising His Indulgence, and neglecting His Admonitions, the next day in furious Votes declared themselves sole Masters of the *Militia*: and to make the
 People

People believe there was truth in their false Fears, they command strict Watches to be kept in all suspected places, Beacons to be new set up, the Sea-marks to be watched, and the Navy to be new rigged and fitted for the Sea. New Plots were also discovered, and Strange and unheard-of Counsels to murder the most Eminent Patriots are brought to light. *A Taylor in a ditch hears some desperate Cavaliers contriving the Death of Mr. Pym. A Plaister also taken from a Plague-sore was sent into the House to the same person, that the Infection first seising on a Member of the quickest senses, might thence more impetuously diffuse it self upon all the most Grave Senators.* Such like Plots as these, and whatsoever could be devised, were published to make the Vulgar think those demands of the Faction seem modest, (their dangers being so great) which were very unjust.

And lest the King should at His coming into the North make use of that Magazine at *Hull* (which at His own Charges He had provided for the *Scotch* Expedition) for His own defence, the Faction, to secure that and the Town for their future purposes, send down Sir *John Hotham*, without any Order or Commission from either House of Parliament, to seise on them. This Man of a fury and impudence equal to their Commands, when the King, petitioned by the Gentlemen of *York-shire* to employ those Arms and that Ammunition for the Safety and

Peace of that County, (where some of the Factionous Members of Parliament had begun to form the like Seditions with those of *London*,) would have entred *Hull*, [*Anno 1642.*] *April 23.* insolently shut the Gates upon Him, and would not permit Him, though with but twenty Attendants, for He offered to leave the Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen which followed Him without. The *King* thereupon Proclaims him Traytor, and by Letters complains of the Indignity, and requires Satisfaction. But the Faction rendred the Act so glorious, that the House of Commons by their Votes approved what he had done without their Command, and clamoured that the *King* had done them an injury, in proclaiming so innocent a Member, Traytor : Ordered the Earl of *Warwick*, to whom they had committed the Command of the Navy, to land some men out of the Ships at *Hull*, and to transport the Magazine there from thence to *London*. An Order of Assistance was also given to several of their Confidents, as a Committee of both Houses to reside at *Hull*, and the Counties of *Tork* and *Lincoln* were commanded to execute their commands. Besides, they sent a Commission to *Hotham* to prosecute the Insolencies he had begun, and kindle that War which took fire on the whole Nation, and in a short space consumed him and his Son, who were executed by the Instruments of his Villany : For he fell under that same Fate which attends all the Instruments of Great Crimes, to be Odi-

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ous and suspected by those that made use of them. Therefore they gave such a power to the Lord *Fairfax* in *York-shire* as did conclude the diminution, and submission of *Hotham* to His Commands. This caused him to reflect with grief and madness upon his first ministry to the Faction, which appeared every day more monstrous to his Conscience, being now spoiled of that Grandeur that he hoped would have been its reward, and awakened by those Desolations in the whole Kingdom which followed it, and were but as the Copies of his Original Treason. Therefore he thought to expiate his former guilt by surrendring the Town to Him from whom he had detained it. But his practices were discovered to the Faction by One whom they had sent thither in pretence to preach the Gospel, but in truth secretly to search into the intrigues of his Counsels : so that he perished in his design, being neither stout nor wise enough in just enterprises, nor of a pertinacy sufficient for a prosperous Perfidiousness. And although in his Ruine the *King* observed how great a draught was offered to the highest thirst of Revenge, yet He did truly bewail him : and indeed he was so much the more to be pitied, because his cruel Masters deluded him to a silence of their black Secrets with a false hope of Life till the Ax was upon his Neck. So betraying his Soul to a surprise by his Spiritual enemies, as his pretended Spiritual Guides had done his Body to them.

The

The Insolency of *Hotham*, who acted according to his Instructions and late Commission, beginning acts not usual in Peace, nor justifiable by Law, (for he issued out Warrants for the Trained Bands to march into *Hull* with their Arms, where he forced them to leave them, and nakedly return to their homes, that so they might be obnoxious to his Violence) and the practices of the Committee which were sent down into the North, to debauch the People in their Loyalty, made the *King* intend His own Security by a Guard; which the Gentry and Commonalty of *York-shire*, that were witnesses of the Injury offered to their Prince, did willingly and readily make up. No sooner had the *King* expressed His intention of such a Guard, but the Faction, who were watchful of all opportunities of beginning a War, and ingaging those that either through Fear or Weakness had hitherto submitted to their Impostures, in a more obliging guilt, (for now the greatest part of the Peers, who were of the most Ancient Families and Noblest Fortunes, and a very great number of the House of Commons, Persons of just hopes and fair Estates, who perceiving the designs of the Disturbers, scorned any longer to be their Slaves, yet not thinking it safe to provoke the fury of the Vulgar Tumults by a present opposition, had withdrawn from the Parliament to follow the *King* and His Fortune, and every day some more were still falling off) took this occasion to commence

mence our Miseries, and open those Sluces of Blood which polluted the whole Kingdom. For upon the first Intelligence of it they filled the House of Commons and the City with Clamours, That *His Majesty had now taken Arms to the overthrow of them and the Protestant Religion*; and that *they were not any longer to think the Happiness of the Kingdom did depend upon the King, or any of the Regal Branches of that Stock; that it would argue no want either of Duty or Modesty, if they should depose Him.* By these Harangues they so heated the Parliament, that was now more penurious than before in persons of Honour and Conscience, to such a degree of Fury, that unmindful how they themselves for eight months before upon impossible Fears and improbable Jealousies had taken a Guard, they Resolved upon the Question, that the *King by taking to himself such a Guard did intend to levy War against the Parliament.* With an equall fury they Issue out Commissions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain days for all the Trained Bands to be put into a posture of War, sending down some of their Members to see to the execution of these Commands, and to seise on the Magazines in the several Counties.

To all these their violent and unjust attempts the *King* first opposes the Law, in several Declarations manifests the Power of Arms to be the Ancient and undoubted Right of the Crown,
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by many Proclamations, Charges all Men under the Crime and Penalties of Treason to forbear the Execution of those Ordinances which were published to Licence their Rebellion, and Answers with a wonderful Diligence and Eloquence all the fictitious Pretensions of the Parliament to that Power, in their several Remonstrances. But though the *King* had in the judgment of all understanding and uninterested persons the Juster Cause, and the more powerful Pen, yet the Faction's *Haste, which is most efficacious in Civil Discords*, the Slanders they had raised of Him, and impressed in the minds of the People, the terrours of that Arbitrary Power which the House of Commons had a long while exercised in the vexatious prosecution of all such as did oppose their imperious Resolves, (for they would by their Messengers send for the Great Earls and Prime Barons of the Kingdom as Rogues and Felons, and weary them and others with a tedious and chargeable Attendance, oppress them with heavy and unproportionable Censures, and restrain them by Illegal Imprisonments) and the hopes of licence and spoil in the ruine of Church and State, had so preoccupied the Minds of the inferiour Multitude, that neither Law nor Religion could have the least consideration in their practices; and those Persons whom His Majesty appointed as Commissioners of *Array*, in few places found that Obedience which was due to the just Commands of a Gracious Prince, who vainly expect-
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ed that Reverence to Justice in others which Himself gave.

After the experience of their Power in these their Successes at Land, and having gotten the whole Navy at Sea, being made Masters of the most and greatest Strengths of the Kingdom, they then thought it might be safe for them to publish the aims and ends of their most destructive designs; which if sooner manifested, when the King by His Message of 20. of January from Windsor Castle advised them to *prescribe the limits of their Priviledges, give full Boundaries to His own Power, and propose what was in their judgements proper to make the People happy; and most religiously promised an equal tenderness of theirs and the Peoples Rights as of His own, and what was for the Publick Good should not be obstructed for His Particular emolument;* they had justly drawn upon themselves all that popular hatred which they endeavoured to fling upon the King, and had been buried under those ruines which they projected for the Grave of Majesty. But then the Faction considered not so much in their own force, nor were the Vulgar then so blinded with fury as to chuse their own Destruction: and therefore to that Message of Peace nothing was returned but Complaints, That *by such Advisees their Counsels were disturbed, that it was contrary to their unbounded Privileges to be minded of what was necessary.* But now they were furnished with a
Power

Power equal to their Ambition, they thought it expedient to confirm their newly-gotten Empire with some pretensions to Peace ; but with a great deal of Caution, that the affectation of it might not disappoint them of their hopes, which were all built upon War and Confusion. Therefore they formed the Conditions such as the *King* could not in Honour or Conscience grant them, nor expect Peace by them. Or if He did, they should be instated in such a Grandeur, that they might reap for themselves all the reproachful Honours and unlawful gains of an Arbitrary Power, the thing they aimed at, and leave the *King* overwhelmed with shame and contempt for their miscarriages in Government. These Conditions were digested into Nineteen Propositions ; which when presented to the *King*, He saw by an assent to them He should be concluded to have deposed Himself, and be but as an helpless and idle Spectator of the Miseries such Tyrants would bring upon the People whom God had committed to His Trust. Therefore He gave them that denial which they really desired and expected, and adjusts His refusal in a Declaration, wherein He sets forth the Injustice of each Proposition. His Answer He sent by the Marquess of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*, Persons of great Integrity and Prudence, with Instructions to Treat in the House of Peers upon more equal Conditions.

But

But it behoved the Faction not to let the Kingdom see any way to Peace, therefore denying any admittance to those Lords, before ever the *King's* Answer could publickly discover who were the obstructours of the Peoples quiet, they Ordered a Collection to be made of Money and Plate, to maintain Horse, Horse-men and Arms for the ensuing War. The specious Pretences for which were *the Safety of the King's Person, and the taking Him out of the hands of Evil Counsellors, the Defence of the Priviledges of Parliament, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the maintenance of the Ancient Laws of the Land.* Such inviting causes as these inflamed the Minds of the Multitude, and filled them with more airy hopes of Victory than the noise of Drums and Trumpets : But that which was most powerful were the Sermons of such who, being displeased with the present Ecclesiastical Government, were promised the richest Benefices, and a partage of the Revenues which belonged to Bishops, Deans and Chapiters. These from their Pulpits proclaimed War in the Name of Christ the Prince of Peace, and whatsoever was contributed to the spilling of the blood of the Wicked, was to build up the Throne of the meekest Lamb; and besides the satisfaction they were to expect from the Publick Faith, which the Parliament promised, there was a larger Interest to be doubled upon them in the Kingdom of Saints that was now approaching.

proaching. Deluded by these Artifices and Impostures, People of all Conditions and all Sexes, some carried by a secret Instinct, others hurried by some furious Zeal, and a last sort led by Covetousness, cast into this Holy Treasury the Banck for Blood, all the Ornaments of their Family, all their Silver Vessels, even to their Spoons, with the Pledges of their first Love, their Marriage-rings; and the younger Females spared not their Thimbles and Bodkins, the obliging Gifts of their *Inamorato's*, from being a part of the Price of Blood. But while these Preparations were made at *London*, the *King* at *York* Declares against the Scandal, that *He intended to Levy War against the Parliament*, calling God to witness how far His desires and thoughts were from it; and also those many Lords who were witnesses of His Counsels and Actions, do publish to the World by a Writing subscribed with all their Names, to the number of Forty and odd, that *they saw not any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such Design, and were fully perswaded that He had no such intention.*

But all was in vain, for the Faction chose that the People should be rather guilty of committing Rebellion, than only of favouring the Contrivers of it, and decreed to try whether by a prosperous Success they could change their Crimes to Vertue. Therefore they hastened all
they

they could to raise Horse and Foot to form an Army equal to their Usurpation : which was not difficult for them to do, for they being Masters of *London*, whose Multitudes desirous of Novelty were easily amassed for any enterprize, especially when the entering into this Warfare might make the Servant freer than his Master, (for such was the Licence was indulged to those Youths that would serve the Cause) 20000 were sooner gathered than the *King* could get 500. The City also could afford them more Ordnance than the *King* could promise to Himself common Muskets : and to pay their Souldiers, besides the vast summs that were gathered for *Ireland* (which though they by their own Act had decreed should not be used for any other enterprize, yet now dispence with their Faith, and imploy it to make *England* as miserable as that Island) and the Contributions of the deluded souls for this War; they seised also upon the Revenues of the *King*, *Queen*, *Prince*, and *Bishops*, and plunder the Houses of those Lords and Gentlemen whom they suspected to be Favourers of the *King's* Cause. And in contemplation of these advantages, they promised their credulous party an undoubted Victory, and to lead Majesty Captive in Triumph through *London* within a Month, by the Conduct of the Earl of *Essex*, whom they appointed General.

Thus did they drive that Just and Gracious Prince to seek His Safety by necessary Arms,
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since nothing worse could befall Him after a stout, though unhappy, Resistance, than He was to hope for in a tame Submission to their Violence. Therefore though He perfectly abhorred those Sins which are the Consequences of War, yet He wanted not Courage to attempt at Victory, notwithstanding it seemed almost impossible against so well-appointed an Enemy. Therefore with an incredible diligence moving from place to place, from *York* to *Nottingham*, from thence to *Shrewsbury*, and the Confines of *Wales*, by discovering those Abilities with which His Soul was richly fraught unto His deluded Subjects, He appeared not only worthy of their Reverence, but of their Lives and Fortunes for His Defence; and in all places encouraging the Good with His Commendations, exciting the Fearful by His Example, dissembling the Imperfections of His Friends, but alwayes praising their Vertues, He so prevailed upon those who were not men of many Times, nor by a former Guilt debauch'd to Inhumanity, that He had quickly contracted an Army greater than His Enemies expected, and which was every day increased by those Lords and Gentlemen who refused to be polluted any longer with the practices of the Faction by sitting among them, and being Persons of large Fortunes had raised their Friends and Tenants to succour that Majesty that now laboured under an Eclipse. Most men being moved with Pity and Shame to see their Prince, whose former Reign had made them
wanton

wanton in Plenty, to be driven from His own Palaces, and concluded under a want of Bread, to be necessitated to implore their aid, for the preservation of His and their Rights. So that notwithstanding all the Impostures of the Faction and the Corruptions of the Age, there were many great Examples of Loyalty and Vertue. Many Noble Persons did almost impoverish themselves to supply the *King* with Men and Money. Some Private men made their way through numerous dangers to joyn with, and fight under His Colours. Many great Ladies and Vertuous Matrons parted with the Ornaments of their Sex to relieve His wants, and some bravely defended their Houses in His Cause when their Lords were elsewhere seeking Honour in His Service. Both the Universities freely devoted their Plate to succour their Prince, the Supreme Patron and Incourager of all Learning; and the Queen pawned Her Jewels to provide necessaries for the Safety of Her Husband. Which Duty of Hers, though it deserved the Honour of all Ages, was branded by the Demagogues with the imputation of Treason.

This sudden and unexpected growth of the Strength of the *King* after so many years of Slanders, and such industrious Plots to make Him odious and Contemptible, raised the admiration of all men, and the fears of that credulous Party who had given up their Faith to the Faction, when they represented the *King*

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guilty

guilty of so much Folly and Vice (and some corrupted Citizens had represented Him as a Prodigie of both in a Scene at *Guild-Hall* in *London*, an Art used by Jesuites to impress more deeply a Calumny,) that they could not imagine any person of Prudence or Conscience would appear in His Service, and they expected every day when, deserted by all as a Monster, He should in Chains deliver Himself up to the Commands of the Parliament. "Some attributed this strange increase in power to the
 " *natural Affection of the English to their Law-
 " full Sovereign, from whom though the Arts and
 " Impulses of Seditious Demagogues may a while
 " estrange and divorce their minds, yet their
 " Genius will irresistibly at last force them to
 " their first Love*; and therefore they urged the saying of that Observing States-man, that if
 " *the Crown of England were placed but on an
 " Hedge-stake, he would be on that side where the
 " Crown was.* Others referred it to the full evidence of the wickedness of His Adversaries, for their Counsels were now discovered, and their Ends manifest, not to maintain the Common Liberty, which was equally hatefull to them as Tyranny when it was not in their hands, but to acquire a Grandeur and Power that might secure and administer to their Lusts : and it was now every where published what Mr. *Hambden* Answered to one who inquired *What they did expect from the King*; he replied, *That He should commit Himself*
 " and

" *and all that is His to our Care.* Others ascri-
 " bed it to the fears of ruine to those numerous
 " Families and Myriads of people which the
 " change of Government designed by the Par-
 " liament must necessarily effect. But this,
 " though it argued that *Cause exceeding bad by*
 " *which so great a part of a Community is utter-*
 " *ly destroyed, without any absolute necessity for*
 " *preserving the whole;* yet made but an incon-
 " siderable Addition to the *King*, whose great-
 " est Power was built upon Persons of the No-
 " blest Extract and the fairest Estates in *Eng-*
 " *land*, of which they could not easily suspect
 " to be divested without an absolute overthrow
 " of all the Laws of Right and Wrong, which
 " nevertheless was to be feared by their inva-
 " sions on the *King's* most undoubted Rights.
 " For *when Majesty it self is assaulted, there can*
 " *be no security for private Fortunes; and those*
 " *that decline upon design from the paths of Equi-*
 " *ty, will never rest till they come to the Extre-*
 " *mity of Injustice;* as these afterwards did. Be-
 " sides those that imputed the speedy amassing
 " of these Forces to the Equity of the *King's*
 " Cause, His most Powerful Eloquence, Indefa-
 " tigable Industry, and most Obliging Converse;
 " there were another sort that, suspending their
 " Judgements till all the Scenes of War were
 " passed, resolved all into the Providence of
 " God: Who though He were pleased to single
 " Him out of all the Kings of the Earth as the
 " fittest Champion to wrestle with Adversity,

“ and to make Him glorious by *Sufferings*,
 “ which *being well born truly prove men Great*;
 “ yet would He furnish Him (almost by a Mi-
 “ racle) likewise with such Advantages, in the
 “ conduct of which His Prudence and Magnani-
 “ mity might evidence that He did deserve Pro-
 “ sperity, and by clearing up even this way His
 “ eminent Vertues, warn the following Ages
 “ from a Credulity to unquiet Persons, since the
 “ best of Princes was thus infamously slandered.

From all these concurring Causes, each one in
 their Way and Order, did the *King's* strength
 so far increase, as that He won many Battels, and
 was not far from Conquest in the Whole War;
 had not God seen fit to afflict this sinful Nation
 with Numerous and most Impious Tyrants, and
 make us feel, that *no Oppressions are so unsup-
 portable as those which are imposed by such as
 have made the highest Pretensions to Liberty*:
 of which we had bitter experience after the War
 was finished that was now begun. For there had
 been some slight Conflicts e're this in the several
 Counties betwixt the Commissioners of *Array*
 and the *Militia*, with various Successes; which
 require just Volumes and compleat Histories to
 relate, and cannot be comprehended in the short
 View of the *King's* Life, where it is only in-
 tended to speak of those Battels in which the
 King in Person gave sufficient evidence of His
 Wisdom and Valour. The first of which was
 at *Edge-Hill* on *Octob. 23*. For the *King* had no
 sooner

sooner gotten a considerable Force, though not equal to those of His Enemies, but He marched towards *London*, and in His way thither met with *Effex's* Army that were come from thence to take Him. The *King* having view'd their Army by a Prospective-glass from the top of that Hill, and being asked afterwards by His Officers what He meant to do, *To give them battel* (said He with a present Courage) *it is the first time I ever saw the Rebels in a body : God, and good mens Prayers to Him, assist the Justice of My Cause :* and immediately prepared for the Fight ; which was acted with such a fury, that near 6000 (according to the common Account, but some say a far less number) were slain upon the place. Night concluded this Battel, which had comprehended the whole War, had not the *King's* prevailing Horse prefer'd the Spoils to Victory, and left the Enemy some advantage to dispute for her. But the *King* had all the fairest marks of her favour. For though He had lost His General, yet He kept the Field, possessed the dead Bodies, opened His way toward *London*, and in the sight of some part of the Army of *Effex*, (who accounted it a Victory that He was not totally routed and killed,) took *Banbury*, and entred Triumphantly into *Oxford* (which He had designed for His Winter-quarters) with 150 Colours taken in fight. And having assured that place, He advances towards *London*, whither *Effex* had gotten before Him, and disposed his baffled Regiments within ten

miles of the City; yet the *King* fell upon two Regiments of them at *Brainford*, took 500 Prisoners, and sunk their Ordnance. From thence intending to draw nearer *London*, He had intelligence, that the *City* had poured forth all their Auxiliaries to re-inforce *Essex's* Troops; to which being unwilling to oppose His Souldiers wearied with their March, nor thinking it safe to force an Enemy to fight upon *Necessity*, which *inspires a more than Ordinary Fury*, He retreats to *Oxford*, having taught His Enemies, that He was not easily to be Overcome.

For in the management of this Battel, He did not only undeceive the abused world of those Slanders which His Enemies had polluted Him with, but He exceeded that Opinion His own Party had of His Abilities. And though He parted from *London* altogether unexperienced in Martial affairs, yet at *Edge-Hill* He appeared a most Excellent Commander. His Valour was also equal to His Prudence, and He could as well endure Labours as despise Dangers. And by a communication of toils, encouraged His Souldiers to keep the Field all the night, when they saw He refused the refreshments of a Bed; for He sought no other Shelter from the injuries of the Air than His own Coach. These Vertues and this Success made such an impression on the Parliament, that though they took all courses to hide the Infamy of their worsted Army, yet in more humble Expressions than formerly

merly they Petitioned the *King* for a Treaty of Peace, which His Majesty very earnestly embraced. But the Faction, who were frightened with these Tendencies to an Accommodation, cause some of the City to Petition against it, and to make profer of their Lives and Fortunes for the prosecution of the War. Encouraged by this they form their Propositions like the Commands of Conquerours, and so streighten the Power and Time of their Commissioners, that the Treaty at *Oxford* became fruitless, which there had taken up all the *King's* employment this Winter, though abroad His Forces were busie in several Parts of the Nation, not without honour.

[*Anno* 1643.] At the Opening of the Spring the Queen comes back to *England*, bringing with Her some considerable Supplies of Men, Money and Ammunition, and Her coming was entertained with such a Series of Successes, that the *King* that Summer was Master of the North and West, except some few Garrisons. Which so dismayed the Parliament, that very many of them were preparing to quit the Kingdom: and had the *King* followed His own Counsels, to march immediately towards *London*, and not been fatally over-born at a Council of War, (which, it is said, His Enemies at *London* did assure their Party would so be) first to attempt *Gloucester*, He had, in the judgement of all discerning men, then finished the War with Glory.

But

But here He lay so long till *Essex* had gotten a Recruit from *London*, and came time enough to relieve the Town ; though in his return the *King* necessitated him to fight, worsted him near *Newbery*, and so bravely followed him the next day, that He forced the Parliaments Horse which were left in the Reer to seek their safety by making their way over a great part of their Foot ; yet lost on His side much Noble Blood, as the Earls of *Carnarvan* and *Sunderland*, and Viscount *Falkland*. This last was lamented by all, being equally dexterous at the Pen and Sword, had won some Wreathes in those Controversies that were to be managed by Reason, and was eminent in all the Generous parts of Learning, above any of his Fortune and Dignity. After this Encounter the *King* returns to *Oxford*, to Consult with those Members of both Houses that had left the Impostures and Tumults at *London*, to joyn with Him for the common benefit, who being as to the Peers the far greater, and as to the Commons an equal Number with those at *Westminster*, they assumed the Name and Authority of Parliament, and deliberated of the ways of Peace, and means to prevent the Desolations which the Faction so furiously designed, who were now resolving to encrease our Miseries by Calling in the *scots* to their assistance.

For though they pretended so highly to God's Cause, as if they had the certainty of some Divine Revelation, yet they would not trust Him
for

for their Preservation, notwithstanding their pretences to his Cause had furnished them with so vast a Treasure and so mighty a Strength; but would invite others to the Violation of most sacred Oaths, to sin against all Laws and every Rule of Justice, that themselves might be secure in their Usurpations. And that Perfidious Party that then ruled in *Scotland*, hoping for as great advantages as their former Wickedness had yielded, contrary to all Obligations which the *King's* Goodness had laid on them, and their free and Voluntary Execrations, (as was that of *Alexander Lesley*, who lifting up his arms and hands to Heaven, wished *they might rot to his body before he died, if ever he should heave them up hereafter, or draw his sword, against so gude a King,*) drew that People once more into Rebellion against their Prince; and to make them more eager, and think the Enterprize easie, they first raised a report that the *King* was deserted by most of His Nobility.

The Parliament at *Oxford* having by a Letter moved the Earl of *Effex* to endeavour Peace, did also declare against this Invasion of the *Scots* by another Letter sent to them, in which also they acquaint them with the falseness of their officious Lie, and shew how inconsiderable a Number of Lords were with those that invited them in. The *King* Himself writes also to put them in mind of their several Ingagements to be Quiet. But with an Insolencie fit for most perjured

jured Souls, they Commanded the Letters to be burned by the hand of the Hangman. A more secret falshood He also found in the Marquess *Hamilton*, whose Treasons now came to be more suspected. For His Majesty having written to him, to use all his Power and Interest to keep his Country-men at home, (which had not been difficult for one of his Grandeur in that unquiet Nation) he by some secret Arts doth more inflame them; and to cover his Perfidiousness, flies from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, as seeking a shelter for his Loyalty; but indeed to be a Spy in the *King's* Counsels. But his Treasons had outstripp'd him and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanerick*, who came with him, therefore they were both forbidden the Court. *Lanerick* not willing to tarry till a further Discovery, gets out of *Oxford*, flies to those at *London*, and by them was imployed in the *Scotch* Army; which made *Hamilton's* Treachery more evident, and he was sent Prisoner to *Pendennis* Castle. But the dishonour of that Nation was in a great measure repaired by the Gallantry and Faithfulness of the Marquess *Montross*, who being commission'd by the *King*, with an incredible Industry by small numbers of men won many Battels, and overthrew well-formed Armies: and had not the Fate of his Master, which was to be betrayed by those He trusted, been likewise common to him, he had forced that Nation to Justice and Quiet.

But

But e're *Montroß* could get his Commission, the *Scots* were entred *England* : whose coming that it might be less odious to the People, who now grew cold in their zeal to the Cause, and saw themselves deluded into so continued dangers, the Faction make use of such frauds as should make the People either think them necessary assistances, or might divert their thoughts from apprehending the Miseries they brought with them to this Nation ; therefore they invent new Slanders of the *King* and His Party. *That His Majesty did intend to translate Monarchy into a Tyranny : that He would seise upon all their Estates who had any way opposed Him, and make their persons Slaves : that there was no hope of Pardon from Him, who was so mercileß : that He would take away all their Liberties and Privileges as forfeited, destroy the Protestant Religion, and introduce Popery, which at Oxford He did practise Himself, and that all men must be forced to go to Mass.* As for His Party they set them out to be such Monsters, that the lower sort of People doubted whether the Cavaliers had the shapes of men. For sad Relations were printed and published of their inhumanity and barbarous murders : that *they did feast upon the Flesh of Men, and that they fed their Dogs and their Horses with the same Diet, to make them more fierce for the blood of the Godly Party : that no mans house was so poor and mean that a Cavalier would think*

think beneath his rapine. Thus they wrought upon the melancholy spirits of some by fear. For those of a morose and cholerick temper they had proper divertisements : they permitted to them a tumultuary Reformation, to pull down the Pictures and Images of Christ, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints ; which with great Solemnity they committed to the flames, that they might suffer as it were another Martyrdom. All Crosses, though set up for Ornament and Use in the Streets of *London*, and other places, they pulled down : they invade the Churches, and there deface what their Humour or Rapine would call Superstition, pull down the Organs, tear the Surplices ; and all this was suffered to please the Rabble, who delight in violences and such ostentations of their fury, and to make them in something or other guilty, that they might despair of Pardon.

For others, who were to be wrought upon by Religion, they entertain them with Fasts, publick Thanksgivings for slight Victories, and solemn Spiritual meetings (as they called them ;) where whatsoever the Faction dictated was commended by the Speakers to their unwary hearers as the Oracles of Heaven : and being thus wrapp'd up in those true delights which accompany the Worship of God, they were securely swallowed by them, as Poison when it is offered in a Sacramental Chalice. To please their Ministers whom hitherto they had used as their
Properties

Properties and Instruments of their Arts, Presbytery is set up, that they also might have an Imaginary Empire : but it was not intended they should exercise it. For the pretensions of that to a *Divine Right* did so terrifie them who were resolved against all Government that was not subject unto or dependent on theirs, that they presently raised all the other Sects, *Independents*, *Erastians*, (who for the most part were Lawyers, that could not endure to hear of any Thunderbolts of Excommunication, but what was heated in their own forges) *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, and *Atheists* (of which there were many sprung up, who seeing how Religion was abused to carnal and unjust Ends, began first to despise that, and afterwards to deny God) to write and declaim against this new Politie, as the most severe and absolute Tyranny under the Sun, and the tenth Persecution. But this seeming modesty of admitting a Church-Government served their ends for the present, till they could acquire a greater strength, in confidence of which they might slight the Terrours of the Law, and the Anathema's of the Church. The Liturgy also was abolished, under pretence of a Spiritual Liberty, for it was accused of putting a restraint upon the Spirit, but in truth, because it had so frequent Offices for the *King*. To these were added the Covenant, the Fetters of the *Scotish* Slavery : this was to bind the whole Nation to the Interests of the Faction, and was used as the *Water of Jealousie*, to discover those
whom

whom they did suspect. Therefore all the Conspirators, of what Sect soever, whether Independents or Anabaptists, though they refused to take it themselves, (because it did oblige to the Preservation of the *King's* Person and Authority) yet were as eager Imposers of it as the Presbyterians (who in simplicity urged it as the Fundamental Constitution of their Empire) upon all who they thought would not prostitute their Souls to their designs, or had any thing fit to be made their Spoils. And by this only Engine many thousand Persons and Families were miserably ruined, especially of the Clergy.

To oblige more fastly those that had no patience to expect nor hopes to receive any reward for their Service against their *Prince* in the other life, and so would not be satisfied with the shews of Religion, but sought more solid encouragements in the spoils of it, the Lands of the Bishops were exposed to sale, and that at such easie rates as might invite the hazards of the Purchase, satiate their boundless Covetousness, and ingage them in a pertinacious faith to their Merchants. To cement all these distinct Humours in one common pleasure, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was prepared for a Sacrifice, and about this time began his Tryal, which continued a whole year, being when the Houses were at leisure called by several months and weeks to answer to his Charge, that by his frequent passages as a Prisoner he might give a
pleasant

pleasant Diversion to the *Rabble*, who are delighted with the ruins and misfortunes of great Persons, and by their injuries and reproaches he might be reduced to such a weakness of Spirit as was not competent with the defence of his Cause. But his Cause and his Conscience were impregnable, and he overthrew their Slanders, though he could not their Power.

By these Arts and Ways was the Winter spent to prepare for the attempts of the following Summer, wherein, [*Anno* 1644.] though the Parliaments Forces increased by the *Scotish* Succours had the Success over several bodies of the Royalists, yet that small Number that followed the King's Person, and were guided by His own Counsels and Example, obtained two great Victories. For His Majesty having once more provided for the Safety of the Queen, (in sending Her to *Excester*, there to lay down the burden of Her Love, and from thence to seek for Shelter in *France*) taken (contrary to their hopes) His last farewell of Her, and left *Oxford* strengthened against the Siege which the Earl of *Effex* and Sir *William Waller* threatned that place with, He with a small party draws out, intending to form His Counsels according to the future Occurrences. This made the Enemy divide, and *Effex* was designed to reduce the West. But *Waller*, with whom usually went Sir *Arthur Heselrigge* (a Person fitter to raise Sedition

I

ditions

ditionous Tumults than manage Armies) was to hunt the *King* upon the Mountains of *Wales*, towards which He seemed to direct His course. But hearing of the resolutions of these two jealous Generals, He wheels about to *Oxford*, and from thence drew the greatest strength of that Garrison, and with that falling upon *Waller* at *Cropredy-bridge*, obtained a great Victory; which would have been more prejudicial to the Enemy, had not the Tenderness of His Subjects Blood restrained Him from prosecuting His Success to a greater slaughter. But contenting Himself to have diverted Injuries from His own breast, He only used this Victory for an advantage to Peace, which in a Letter from *Evenham*, July 4. He moves the Parliament unto.

But the unquiet Criminals rendred it vain and fruitless, and represented to the People their yet prevailing Forces in the North, and their Army in the West, which had now taken in some considerable places to their Obedience. Therefore to remove their Confidence in *Essex's* Power, the *King* follows him, and so closely pursues him, that He drove him up into *Cornwall*, and there did as it were besiege him. During which He sent a Letter to him, which was seconded by another from the Lords and Gentlemen in His Army, to solícite His endeavours for the Peace and Quiet of the bleeding and wasted Kingdom. But it met not its desired effect: Because that Earl either valued not that solid
Glory

Glory of being the happy Author of a Nations Settlement; or feared that his past Actions had wholly despoiled him of hopes of Security in a return to Obedience, or knew that his Authority was not so great to put an Issue to those Crimes which he had led others to commit. (*For every inconsiderable person may be powerfull at Disturbances, but to form Peace requires much Wisdom and great Vertues.*) Which last was generally believed, for he had found and complained that his Credit declined with the Faction, that they were distrustfull lest their own Arts might teach him to have no faith to them, because he often solicited them to a composing of the Kingdoms Distractions. Therefore making no return to those Letters, he provided for his own safety in a *Cock-boat*, and ignominiously deserted his Army; of which the Horse, taking the advantage of a dark night, made their escape, but the Commanders of the Foot did capitulate for their Lives, and left their Arms, Cannon, Baggage and Ammunition, to the Disposal of the *King*.

The speedy and prudent acquisition of these two Victories shewed the *King* had those Abilities that might have inserted Him in the Catalogue of the Bravest Commanders; and had not want of Success in His following Enterprises clouded the Glory of this Summer, He had been as eminent among the Masters of War as He was among the Sons of Peace, the Honour of which

last He most eagerly thirsted, as rendering Him most like that Majesty He did represent. Therefore after this Victory, by a Letter from *Tavestock*, Sept. 8. He re-inforces that from *Evesham* for an Accord with the Parliament, being not transported from His Lenity by the Violence with which Victory uses to hurry humane breasts to an insolence. But He knew that *Peace, though it is profitable to the Conquered, yet it is glorious for the Conquerour.* To busie His Army while He expected their Answer, and formed an Association in the Western Counties, He sits down before *Plymouth*; but finding this Message had an equal reception with the former, and that the Faction intended not to sacrifice their ill-acquired Power and Usurped Interests to the publick Tranquillity, He rises from thence, and marches towards *London*, from whence were by this time in the way to meet Him *Essex*. and *Waller* recruited, and joyned with the Earl of *Manchester's* Forces that were now returned from their Northern Services. And at *Newbery* both sides joyn in an eager Fight, which being varied with different successes, in the several divisions, each party draw off by degrees, and neither found cause to boast of a Victory.

The *King* being returned to *Oxford*, the Parliament wearied with the Complaints of the oppressed Nation, who now grew impatient under the Distractions, take into Consideration His Majesty's two Messages for Peace, and send Propositions

Propositions for it in the name of the two Parliaments of *England* and *Scotland*, united by Solemn League and Covenant. Which though they seemed the desires of minds that intended nothing less than the common Tranquillity, yet the *King* neglects them not, but hoping that in a Treaty Commissioners might argue them into Reason, offers it, which with much difficulty the Houses are drawn to accept; but yet would have it at *Uxbridge*, a place but about fifteen miles distant from *London*, and above twice that distance from *Oxford*. And accordingly Commissioners from both Parties met on *Jan.* 30. While the *King* was providing for the Treaty, and forming Instructions for His Ministers, the Faction found the Parliament other work by new designs; and to habituate the People to an abhorrency of Peace, fed them with blood. The two *Hotham's* first were to be the Sport of the Multitude: and that the Father might have more than a single death, he was drawn back in his journey to the Scaffold, *Decemb.* 31. that his Son might be executed before him, as he was *Jan.* 1. when after he had expressed his fury to those Masters whom they had served to their ruines, his Head was chopt off. And on *Jan.* 2. the Father is brought to the place that was defiled with his Son's blood, and had his own added to it. These were not much lamented by any, for the memory that they first kindled the Flame of the Nation kept every eye dry.

The People thus fed with courser blood, a cleaner Sacrifice was afterwards presented, *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Primate* of all *England*. He had indured Imprisonment four years, and passed through a Tryal of many months, in which he had acquitted himself with such a confidence as became the Innocency and Constancy of a Christian Bishop and Confessor, but yet must fall to please the *Scots*, and those merciless men who imputed God's anger in the difficulties of Success against their Prince, to the continuance of this Prelate's Life : therefore he was Voted Guilty of High Treason by the House of Commons, and was condemned in the House of Peers (though they have no power over the life of the meanest Subject without the concurrence of the *King*) when

Some Writers (who since have been convinced of their mis-information) have named amongst those Seven Lords, the Lord *Bruce* Earl of *Elgin*; but his Lordship upon the first notice of this report, did to several Persons of Quality and Honour he conversed with, and since hath affirmed to me, that he was not then present, and that his heart could never consent to the shedding of the blood of that Excellent Prelate.

there were but Seven Lords present, and all those not consenting to the Murder, to be drawn, hanged and quartered. And this was the first Example of murdering Men by Votes, of killing by an Order of Parliament, when there is no Law. It was moved (they say) by some that he might be shipp'd over to *New-England*, to die by the Contempt and Malice of those People. But this seemed

ed too great an Honour, because it would make his end as his life was, much like that of the Primitive Bishops, who for their Piety were banished to Barbarous Coasts, or condemned to the Mines. Or else it would be like an *Athenian* Ostracism, and confess him too great and good to live among us. Therefore this motion was rejected; yet the Lords upon his Petition, to the distaste of some Commons, changed the manner of that vile Execution to that more generous of being beheaded. To the Scaffold he was brought *Jan. 10.* after he had endured some affronts in his Antichamber in the Tower by some Sons of Schism and Sedition, who unseasonably that morning he was preparing himself to appear before the great Bishop of our Souls, would have him give some satisfaction to the Godly (for so they called themselves) for his Persecutions, (which he called Discipline.) To whom he Answered, *That he was now shortly to give account of all his Actions at an higher and more equal Tribunal, and desired he might not be disturbed in his Preparations for it.* When he came to the Scene of his death, he appeared with that chearfulness and serenity in his face, as a good Conscience doth beautifie the owners with: and it was so conspicuous, that his Enemies, who were ashamed to see his Innocency pourtraied in his Countenance, did report he had drunk some Spirits, to force his nature from a paleness. He preached his own Funeral Sermon on that Text, *Hebr. 12,*

2. and concluding his life with Prayer, submitted himself to the stroke of the Ax.

“ He was a Person of so great *Abilities*
 “ (which are the *Designations of Nature to Dignity and Command,*) that they raised him
 “ from low beginnings to the highest Office the
 “ Protestant Profession acknowledges in the
 “ Church. And he was equal to it. His Learning appear’d eminent in his Book against *Fisher*, and his Piety illustrious in his Diary (although published by One that was thirsty of his blood, and polluted with many malicious Comments and false Surmises to make him odious.) He was of so Publick a Spirit, that
 “ both the Church and State have lasting Monuments of the Vertuous use of his Princes
 “ favour; at his Admittance into which he dedicated all the future Emoluments of it to the
 “ Glory of God and the Good of Men, by a
 “ Projection of many noble Works : most of
 “ which he accomplished, and had finished the
 “ rest had not the Fate of the Nation checked
 “ the current of his Designs, and cut off the
 “ Course of his Life. He was not contented
 “ by himself only to serve his Generation, (for
 “ so he might have appeared more greedy of
 “ Fame, than desirous of the Universal Benefit)
 “ but he endeavoured to render all others as
 “ heroick, if they aimed at a Capacity for his
 “ Friendship : for (I have heard it from his Enemies) no great man was admitted to a confidence

“ fidence and respect with him, unless he made
“ his Address by some Act that was for the
“ Common Good, or for the Ornament and
“ Glory of the Protestant Faith. Learned men
“ had not a better Friend, nor Learning it self
“ a greater Advancer; he searched all the Li-
“ braries of *Asia*, and from several parts of the
“ World purchased all the Ornaments and Helps
“ of Literature he could, that the *English*
“ Church might have (if possible) by his Care
“ as many Advantages for Knowledge as almost
“ all *Europe* did contribute to the Grandeur of
“ that of *Rome*. The outward Splendour of
“ the Clergy was not more his Care than their
“ Honour by a grave and pious Conversation;
“ he would put them into a power of doing
“ more good, but was severe against their Vices
“ and Vanities. He scorned a private Trea-
“ sure, and his Kindred were rather relieved
“ than raised to any greatness by him. In his
“ Election of Friends, he was determinated to
“ the Good and Wise, and such as had both
“ Parts and Desires to profit the Church had
“ his closest Embraces; if otherwise it happen-
“ ed, their frauds, not his choice, deserved the
“ blame. Both Papists and Sectaries were e-
“ qually his Enemies; one party feared, and
“ the other hated his Vertues. Some censured
“ him of too much Heat, and a Zeal for Dis-
“ cipline above the Patience of the Times. But
“ his geatest unhappiness, was, that he lived in
“ a Factious Age, and Corrupt State, and under
“ such

“ such a Prince, whose Vertues not admitting
 “ an immediate approach for Accusations, was
 “ to be wounded in those whom He did Ca-
 “ resse. But when Faction and Malice are worn
 “ out by time, Posterity shall ingrave him in
 “ the Albe of the Most Excellent Prelates, the
 “ most indulgent Fathers of the Church, and
 “ the most injured Martyrs. His blood was ac-
 companied with some tears that fell from those
 Eyes which expected a pleasure at his Death,
 and it had been followed with a more general
 mourning, had not the Publick Miseries, and pre-
 sent fears of Ruine exacted all the Stock of Grief
 for other objects.

About this time the Faction clove into two
 Sects, the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, which
 hitherto had been united under one name of
Patriots, or *Godly*, had joyntly conspired War
 and disturbed the Peace, and by various Arts
 had acted all their lusts under the name and Au-
 thority of Parliament. For they would either
 early in the morning before the House was full,
 or late at night, when those whose cares were
 most for the Publick were absent, being assured
 of the Speaker, propose and Vote what served
 for their Design. If any thing contrary to it
 was about to be resolved in a full Assembly,
 they by multitude of Scruples would so disturb
 the Debates, that the determination was de-
 ferr'd to a desired Opportunity. But if these
 failed, then would they surprise the House with
 another

another Vote that should weaken and hinder the Execution of the former. When the most conscientious were too numerous for them, then would they make necessities to send the less pliant to their wills into the Country. Thus the Lesser, but more industrious, Party did circumvent the Greater, that were not so wary nor diligent. While they thus joyntly contrive the Publick Ruine, they had gotten themselves into the most considerable and profitable Offices of the Kingdom. But the *Presbyterians* having the advantage in Number and Power, and the dissension in their Opinions growing still higher, by the Animosities of the inferiour and obscurer parts of their Sects, there was neither Faith nor Love among them, but what Fear and Necessity did force them unto. The *Independents*, who comprehended all the several herds of Hereticks, *Anabaptists*, *Seekers*, *Millenaries*, &c. though they were the Disciples of the other, yet excelled their Masters in Art and Industry, had their private *Junto's* and meetings apart to mould their Projects, and assign to each of their Confidants their several Scenes and Methods; and, by proper Applications to mens several humours, had exceedingly encreased their strength in the Multitude, only they wanted the Power of the Sword, and the most useful Offices to perfect their Empire.

This they effected by those very practices they had learned from the *Presbyterians* : and by
procuring

procuring the Ordinance of *Self-denial*, (as they called it) they turned out *Effex* (whom they had before secretly caused to be suspected, and who had neither glory in his War, nor security or quiet in his Peace) from his Generalship, and with him also the other Leaders that were favourers of the Presbytery, under pretence that it was not fit that any Members of Parliament should be encouraged to a continuance of the War, by enjoying the profitable and powerful Offices in the Army, to which they would now give a new *Module*. Having by this Artifice displaced those whose Power they feared, they brought in as many Candidates of their own Sect as they could to be Colonels, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was appointed General. This Man both Parties did the more easily consent in, because he was known to be of sufficient Personal Valour, and of no private Designs, obstinate by a natural Melancholy, rather than pertinacious in any Interest, and rather free from Baseness, than ambitious of Vain-glory; by all these Qualities they supposed he would be obedient to the Resolves of his Masters. But the *Independents*, that were better informed of his ductile Spirit, and how easily he might be imposed upon by a *Species* of Religion, got the great Patron of all the wildest and most unreasonable Sectaries, *Oliver Cromwell*, at first to be admitted into his Counsels, and afterwards to be the Director of all his actions, under the title of Lieutenant General. For
although

although he likewise by the Self-denying Ordinance was made incapable of any Office in the Army, being a Member of the Parliament; yet those Troops of *Fanaticks* whom he had amass'd, and formerly led under the Command of the Lord *Grey of Wark*, and the Earl of *Manchester*, (both which he had cast off) were instructed to refuse the Conduct of any one but him. He was therefore permitted by the Parliament, as the General desired, for a time to continue in the Army; but he never left it till he had changed that, ruined the Parliament, and turned out the General, that thus was the Author of his unlawful Power. For this Man, having a long time been poor and necessitous, the Patrimony that was left him being profusely spent, and nothing remaining but the Instruments of his Crimes, a bloody and fierce nature, a greedy soul full of bold and unjust hopes, yet able to conceal them with a profession of Modesty, a contempt of Religion and Friendship, yet highly pretending to both, till he had smote under the fifth rib those credulous hearts that trusted him; he was fitted for the most impious enterprises, for vexed by a pressing and tedious poverty, he resolved to endeavour the utmost distance from such a Condition, though by the greatest wickedness, therefore used the Power he had now gotten to overthrow the whole State, and establish himself in an absolute and unsupportable *Tyranny*, which *is the common issue of assaulting a Just and Lawful Prince with Arms.*

With

With these Tragedies and Changes was the Winter spent at *London*, while the *King* at *Oxford* waits for the Issue of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which, as all other Consultations for Peace, was vain and fruitless. For the Faction would alwayes obstruct those endeavours by their proper Methods. If the Condition of their affairs were prosperous, then would they make their Demands like Impositions on conquered Slaves, detesting to supplicate that the acquisitions of their Swords and Blood should be confirmed by a worsted Enemy. In a more humble fortune they would deprecate their drooping Party, *not then to think of a Reconciliation which their unprosperous Arms must necessarily render harder than their hopes; and that it was not for the Honour of a Parliament to seem to yield to any thing by fear or compulsion.* Besides these devices, many fictitious Letters were composed, false Rumours divulged, and witnesses suborned, to make men suspect that many dangerous Plots and portentous Designs were disguised in these Overtures of Accord. Therefore the Commissioners of Parliament were instructed to offer no Expedient for an Accommodation, nor hearken to such as were tendred to them in the Name of the *King*. His Majesty seeing and bewailing his Condition, that He must still have to do with those that were Enemies to Peace, prepares Himself for the War at the approaching Spring : and although
 this

this Winter was infamous with many losses, either through the neglects or perfidiousness of some Officers; yet before the season for taking the field was come, His Counsels and Diligence had repaired those damages.

[*Anno 1645.*] In *April* He sends the *Prince* to perfect the Western Association, and raise such Forces as the necessities of the Crown, which was His Inheritance, did require: with Him is sent, as Moderator of His Youth, and prime Counsellour, Sir *Edward Hyde*, now Lord *High Chancellour of England*, whose Faithfulness had endeared him to His Majesty, who also judged his Abilities equal to the Charge; in which He continued with the same Faith, through all the Difficulties and Persecutions of his Master, till it pleased God to bring the *Prince* back to the Throne of His Fathers, and him to the Chief Ministry of State. After their departure the *King* draws out His Army to relieve His Northern Counties and Garrisons. But being on His march, and having stormed and taken *Leicester* in His way, He was called back to secure *Oxford*, which the Parliament Army threatned with a Siege. But *Fairfax* having gotten a Letter of the Lord *Goring's* (whom a Parliament Spy had cajoled to trust him with the delivery of it) to His Majesty, wherein he had desired Him *to forbear ingaging with the Enemy, till he could be joyned with Him*; he leaves *Oxford*, and made directly towards the
King

King that was now come back as far as *Daven-*
trey, with a purpose to fight Him before that
addition of strength, and at a place near *Naseby*
in *Northampton-shire* both Armies met on Sa-
turday, *June 14*. *Cromwell* having then also
brought some fresh Horse to *Fairfax*; whose
absence from the Army at that time the *King*
was assured by some (who intended to betray
Him) should be effected. Nevertheless, the
King would not decline the Battel, and had the
better at first, but His vanquishing Horse fol-
lowing the chase of their Enemies too far (a fa-
tal error that had been twice before commit-
ted) left the Foot open to the other wing, who
pressing hotly upon them, put them to an open
rout, and so became Masters of His Canon,
Camp, and Carriage, and among these, of His
Majesties Cabinet, in which they found many
of His Letters, most of them written to the
Queen: which, not contented with their Vi-
ctory over His Forces, they Print, as a Trophee
over His Fame, that by proposing His secret
Thoughts, designed only for the breast of His
Wife, to the debauched multitude, and they
looking on them through the Prejudices which
the Slanders of the Faction had already formed
in their minds, the Popular hatred might be in-
creased. But the publication of them found a
contrary effect, every one that was not barba-
rous abhorred that Inhumanity among Christi-
ans, which Generous Heathens scorned to be
guilty of, and the Letters did discover, that the
King

King was not as He was hitherto characterized; but that He had all the Abilities and Affections, as well as all the Rights, that were fit for Majesty: and (which is not usual) He grew greater in Honour by this Defeat, though He never after recovered any considerable power.

For the Fate of this Battel had an inauspicious influence upon all His remaining Forces, and every day His losses were repeated. But though Fortune had left the *King*, yet had not His Valour; therefore gathering up the scattered remains of His broken Army, He marches up and down to encourage those whose Faith changed not with His Condition. At last attempting to relieve *Chester*, though He was beset behind and before, and His Horse wearied in such tedious and restless Marches, yet at first He beat *Poyntz* off that followed; but being charged by Fresh Souldiers from the Leaguer, and a greater Number, He was forced to retreat, and leave some of His gallant Followers dead upon the place. After this He draws towards the North-East, and commands the Lord *Digby* with the Horse that were left to march for *Scotland*, and there to joyn with *Montross*, who with an inconsiderable company of men had got Victories there so prodigious that they looked like Miracles. But this Lord was surprised before he could get out of *Yorkshire*; for His Horse having taken 700 of the Enemies Foot, were so wanton with their Success, that they

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were

were easily mastered by another Party, and he himself was compelled to fly into *Ireland*. These several Overthrows brought another mischief along with it ; for the *King's* Commanders and Officers broke their own *Peace and Agreement*, which *is the only Comfort and Relief of the Oppressed*, and which makes them considerable, though they are despoiled of arms, by imputing (as it useth to be in unhappy counsels) the criminalous part of their misfortunes to one another. But many gallant Persons, whom Loyalty and Religion had drawn to His Service, endured the utmost hazards before they delivered the Holds He had committed to their trust ; and by that means employing the Enemies Arms, gave the *King* time, who was at last returned to *Oxford*, to provide for His Safety.

Hither every day sad Messages of Ruines from every part of the Nation came, which though they seemed like the falling pieces of the dissolved world, yet they found His Spirit erect and undaunted. For He was equal in all the Offices of His Life, tenacious of Truth and Equity, and not moveable from them by Fears, a Contemner of worldly Glory, and desirous of Empire for no other reason, but because He saw these Kingdoms must be ruined, when He relinquished the care of them. But that which most troubled Him were the Importunities of His own disconsolate Party to seek for Conditions of Peace, which He saw was in vain to expect
would

would be such as were fit to accept; for His former experience assured Him, that these men would follow the Counsels of their Fortune, and be more Insolent now than ever. And for Himself, He was resolved not to sacrifice His Conscience to Safety, nor His Honour to Life. This He often told those that thus pressed Him, and did profess in His Letter to Prince *Rupert*, (who likewise moved Him to the same,) that *He would yield to no more now than what He had offered at Uxbridge, though He confessed it were as great a Miracle His Enemies should hearken to so much Reason, as that He should be restored within a Month to the same Condition He was in immediately before the Battel at Naseby.*

But yet to satisfy every One how tender He was of the Common Safety, He sent several Messages to the Parliament for a Treaty, and offers to come Himself to *London*, if He may have security for Himself and Attendants. All which were either not regarded, or answered with Reproaches. And because the people began to murmur at so great an earnestness of the Faction to continue the Wounds of the Nation open and bleeding, (since there were many Forts yet held out for the *King* by Gallant Persons, besides the Lord *Hopton* had an Army yet unbroke, and *Ormond* and *Montross* had considerable Interests in *Ireland* and *Scotland*; all which might be persuaded in a Treaty to part with those Arms which could not be taken from them

without much blood;) and it was the common belief that these men fought for Victory, not Peace and Liberty, which was now tendred: therefore to raise suspicions in the Vulgar, it is suggested that the Cavaliers who came to Compound would take the advantage of the *King's* Presence, if He were permitted to be there, and kindle a new flame and War in the City. And that it might be thought they had real grounds for these fears, the Disarmed Compounders were commanded to depart above twenty miles from *London*; and to injealous the people more, all the transactions of the *King* in the *Irish* Pacification were published, and amplified with the malicious Slanders and Comments of the implacable and conscious Demagogues, that so the terrors of the Vulgar being augmented, they might be frightened into a longer patience.

The *King* finding these men irreconcilable to Peace, and that they had declared against His Coming, though without a Caution, tries the Leaders of the *English* Army; but they proved no less pertinacious, and were now approaching to besiege *Oxford*. Providence not leaving any more Choice, but only shewing Him a way for a present Escape, He goes in a *Disguise* (*which when Necessity cloathes Royal Persons with, seems like an Ominous Cloud before the Setting of the Sun,*) to the *Scotish* Camp that was now before *Newark*, where the Ambassadour of the *King of France*, who was then in the Leaguer, had

had before covenanted for His Majestie's Safety and Protection; and the *Scotish* Officers had engaged to secure both Him and as many of His Party as should seek for Shelter with them, and to stand to Him with their Lives and Fortunes.

[*Anno 1646.*] The King being come thither *May 4.* made a great alteration in affairs; *Newark* was surrendred by the King's Command, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* having gallantly defended *Oxford* till the besiegers offered honourable Conditions, delivered up that also. But the greatest Change of Counsels were at *London*, where when it was related, among whom the King had sought a Sanctuary, various and different Discourses were raised. "Some wondred that His Majesty had sought a Refuge there where the "Storm began, and how He could apprehend "to find Relief from those that were not only "the Authors of His Troubles, but now the "great Advancers of His Overthrow : And "they conceived *no Promises or Oaths can be a* "sufficient Caution from those People that have "been often *Perfidious*. Others judged that in "those necessities wherein the King was concluded, it was as dangerous not to trust as to "be deceived; no Counsel could be better, "than to try whether a Confidence in them "would make them faithful, and whether they "would then be honest, when they had the "Critical Opportunity to testifie to the world, "that they intended not what they did, but

“ what they said ; *That they fought not against*
 “ *Him, but for Him.* But a last sort bewailed
 “ both the greatness of the *King's* Dangers, that
 “ should make Him seek for Safety in a tempe-
 “ stuous Sea and false bottom ; as also the de-
 “ baucheries of the English *Genius*, which was
 “ now so corrupted, that their Prince was dri-
 “ ven to seek an *Afylum* from their injuries a-
 “ mong a people that were infamous and pol-
 “ luted with the Blood of many Kings.

While others discoursed thus of the *King's* journey, the Parliament heated by the *Independents* fiercely declared against the *Scots*, who were removing the *King* to *Newcastle*, and used several methods to make them odious and drive them home. For they kept back their Pay, that they might exact Free-Quarter from the Country ; then they did extenuate their Services, derogate from their famed Valour, upbraid them as Mercenaries, threaten to force them out by the Sword. All which while the English *Presbyterians*, though they wish'd well to their Brethren, yet lest they should seem to indulge the Insolencies of a strange Nation, did not dare to plead in their defence. But the *Scots* themselves for a time did justify their Reception and Preservation of His Majesty by the *Laws of Nature, Nations, and Hospitality, which forbid the delivery and betraying of those that have fled to any for Succour.* The Democratick Faction urged that it was not lawful for the
 Scots,

Scots, *their Hirelings, and in their Dominion, to receive the King into their Camp without the leave of their Masters, and keep Him without their Consent.* These Debates were used to raise the King's price. Which when the Scots were almost assured of, to make their ware more valuable, they sollicite the King, in hopes of their Defence, to command *Montross* to depart from his noble Undertakings in *Scotland*, where he had almost recovered the Overthrow *Roxbrough* and *Traquaire* had betrayed him unto, and was become formidable again; as also the Loyal Marquess of *Ormond* to desist from his gallant Oppositions both of the *Irish* Rebels, and *English* Forces. Which when the King had done, being not willing those Gallant Persons should longer Hazard their brave Lives, and after both these Excellent Leaders had more in anger than fear parted with their unhappy Arms: that they might have a colour of betraying Him, whom the General Assembly of *Scotland* (which useth to hatch all the Seditions to the heat and strength of a seeming Authority) had forbid to be brought into *His Native and Ancient Kingdom* (as He affectionately call'd it) they tender Him the Covenant; pretending without that Chain upon Him, they did not dare to lead Him into *Scotland*. This His Majesty refused not, if they would first loose those Scruples of Church-Government which lay upon His Conscience: Therefore to untie those Knots, Master *Henderson*, that was then the Oracle of the

Kirk, and the great Apostle of the Solemn *Covenant*, was employed to converse with Him. But the Greatness of the *King's* Parts, and the Goodness of His Cause made all his attempts void (for the Papers being published, every one yielded the Victory to His Majesty) and unfortunate; for he returned home, and not long after died, as some reported, of a Grief contracted from the sense of his Injuries to a Prince whom he had found so Excellent.

While these things were acting at *Newcastle*, the bargain was stroke at *London*, and for 200000*l*. His Majesty, stripp'd of those Arms He had when He came among them, was delivered up, as it were, to be scourged and crucified* to some Commissioners from the Parliament: But to Honest their Perfidiousness, they add this Caution, *That there should be no attempt made upon the King's Person, but being entertained at one of His own Palaces, He should there be treated with upon Propositions from both Nations, which should speedily be sent to Him.* But the Parliament never thought of sending any Propositions till He came under the Power of the Army, who had malicious Designs upon His Person. The Commissioners receiving Him, convey Him to His own House at *Holmeby*. This was a very curious and stately Building, yet was not therefore chosen because it might be a Majestick Prison; but because it was within Ken of *Naseby*, which was infamous
with

with His Overthrow, that so the Neighbourhood to it might more afflict His grieved Spirit. To this unpleasingness of the Place they added other discomforts, by making the restraint so strict that they suffered none to come near Him, that by owning His Cause were assured of their Welcome; yea, even His Chaplains (which most troubled Him) were debarred from their Ministry. But God supplied this Want by more plentiful Assistances of His Holy Spirit, and made Him, like the Ancient Patriarchs, both a *King* and a *Priest* (at least for Himself:) and here He sacrificed Praises even to that God that hid himself, and composed those most Divine Meditations and Soliloquies that are in His Book, spending that time in Converse with Heaven, which He was not suffered to employ with Men in whom He delighted.

While the *King's* Soul was thus winged above the walls of His Prison and the Fortune of His Enemies, they that had put an end to the War, yet could not find the way to Peace; for their Souls were unequal to the Victory, and could not temper their Success, the two Sects falling to dissension, and turning all their Arts and arms one against another. The *Presbyterians* had the richer and more splendid followers, but the *Independents* the most fierce, subtle, and most strongly principled to Confusion; the first was Powerful in the Parliament, but the latter in the Army. After they had a long time practised

fed on one another the very same Methods they had acted against the *King*, and such as favoured Him in the Parliament (of which there were alwayes some Number among them) the *Independents* still gained upon their Opposites, making the *Presbyterians* odious, by Libels composed to render their Government Ridiculous and Tyrannical, by putting them upon all the most envious Employments, as Reforming the Universities, and Sequestering Ministers that refused to take the *Covenant*. Not contented thus to deal with their elder Brethren, by spoiling them of their Honour, they proceeded to strip them of the reliques of their armed Power, surprising them in Parliament with a Vote to disband all the Souldiers that were not in *Fairfax's* Army: then the General turns out those Commanders of Garrisons that were any way inclined to them. Besides this, they either corrupted with Gifts or frightened some of the most busie, yet obnoxious, *Presbyterians* either wholly to come over to them, or be their Instruments in disturbing and revealing the Counsels of that Party; which was done under the Scheme of Moderation, and reconciling the Godly one to another.

[*Anno* 1647.] The *Presbyterians* at last awakened with the daily wounds of their Power, and the dishonour of their Party, began now to be more afraid of their Stipendiaries than they were of their Sovereign; for they found that they

they lost all that by the Victory which they fought by the War : therefore to break the confidence of the *Independents*, and make themselves free, they Vote in the Parliament, where they had most Voices, *That to ease the Commonwealth of the Charges in maintaining the Army, 12000 of the Souldiers should be sent over to Ireland, and all the rest to be disbanded, except 6000 Horse, 2000 Dragoons, and 6000 Foot, who should be disposed in different and distant places in the Nation, to prevent any Rising.* The Commanders and *Independents* soon discovered the Artifice, that it was not to ease the Nation, but weaken them ; therefore they employ the Inferiour Officers (being persons that by dissimulation and impudence having accustomed themselves to much speaking, did at last imagine their Vices were Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and so were fit to disquiet the minds of men,) to possess the common Souldiers *with a fear of Disbanding without their Arrears, or else to be sent into that unquiet Island to perish with hunger and cold, and the surprises of a treacherous Enemy.* This presently set the Army to Mutiny, which while it was in the Beginnings, the Commanders make semblance of Indignation at it, seem very busie to compose it ; and Cromwell, to make the Parliament secure, calls God to witness, that *he was assured the Army would at their first Command cast their Arms at their Feet ;* and again solemnly swears, that *he had rather himself with his whole Family should*
be

be consumed than that the Army should break out into Sedition. Yet in the mean time he and his Creatures in the Army administer new fuel to the flames of it; and when they had raised their Fury to such heat that it was at last concocted to a perfect defection from all obedience to the Parliament, they lay aside their disguises, and post from *London* to the Head Quarters, where the Synagogue of Agitators was seated, and to whom was committed the management of this Conspiracy. This Conventicle was made up of two of the most unquiet and factious in every Regiment of Foot, and each Troop of Horse: their business was to consult the Interests of the whole Army, and when they had moulded their Pretences and Arts to their grand Design, to instruct the ruder part of it in their Clamours and Injuries, and to corrupt all the Garrisons by Emissaries to the same enterprises. At last they extended their Cares to the whole *British* Empire, and dictate what their pleasures are concerning *England* and *Ireland*. Which was in both Kingdoms *to establish the Power and Liberty of the People*; for they openly professed an intent for Democracie. And because about an hundred Officers in the Army would not be forward in the Sedition, they were by this Committee of Adjutators, and the secret intimations of the Commanders, cashiered.

Thus the Counsels of both Parties being directed to overthrow their contrary, each
thought

thought the Person and Presence of the *King* would be no vain advantage to their Designs, for they would Honest their actions with a care of Him : therefore the *Presbyterians* had it in Consultation, to Order Col. *Greves*, who had the Command of the Guard about the *King* at *Holmeby*, to remove His Majesty to *London*; the Intelligence of which coming to the Army by the treachery of a certain Lord, they immediately send a Body of Horse to prevent them, and to force Him into their own Quarters. Thus was that Religious Prince made once more the mock of Fortune, and the sport of the Factions, and was drawn from His peaceful Contemplations, and Prospect of Heaven, to behold and converse with men set on Fire of Hell. These, to tempt Him to a Confidence in their integrity, (that they might the more easily to His disgrace ruine Him, and murder Him by His own Concessions, if He would be deluded by them) highly pretend to a *Compassionate Sense of His Sufferings*, and complain of the *Parliaments Barbarous Imprisoning Him in His own Palaces*, wondering they had no more Reverence for Majesty; and to beget a belief of this, they profess (which they would have to be conceived with them was more sacred than any Oaths) that they will never part with their Arms till they have made His way to His Throne, and rendered the Condition of His Party more tolerable. Besides these Promises and Compassions, they permit Him the Ministry of His Chaplains in the

the Worship of God, (which, it is said, He took with so great a Joy, that He almost believed Himself free and safe, it being His most heavy burden while He was the Parliaments Captive) the Commerce of Letters with the *Queen*, the Visits of His own Party, and the Service of His Courtiers; some of whom they also admitted to their Council of War, mould Propositions which they will urge in His behalf, and alter them to the *King's* Gust and at His Advice. In their publick Remonstrances against the Covetousness, Ambition, Injustice, Cruelty and Self-mindedness of the Parliament, they do sometimes obliquely, sometimes plainly, profess, that *the King, Queen, and the Royal Family must be restored to all their Rights, or else no hope of a solid Peace*; but then they would intermix such Conditions as argued they sought Reserves for a perfidious escape. For *Cromwell* did among his Confidants boast of his fine Arts, and that by these Indulgences was intended nothing but His Destruction.

By all these Impostures they prevailed nothing upon the Hopes or Fears of the *King*; nor did He commit any thing unworthy His former Fortune, and the Greatness of His Integrity and Wisdom, or which any of the Disagreeing Factions could use to His reproach. But they found another kind of Success upon the Parliament, for they sacrificed to the Commands of their Stipendiaries eleven Members of the House of Commons, and seven of the Peers, causing them

them to forbear sitting among them, because they had been accused by the Army in a very frivolous Charge. "All men wondering at the
 "inequality of those mens Spirits, who had so
 "furiously rejected the Articles of their law-
 "full Sovereign against five or six of their Body,
 "and yet did now so tamely yield to the slight
 "Cavils and dislike of their Mercenaries above
 "thrice that Number. They therefore conclu-
 "ded, that neither *Religion, Justice, or the*
 "*Love of Liberty, which are alwayes uniform,*
 "but *unworthy Interests and corrupt Souls,*
 "*which vary with fears and hopes,* had been
 "the Principles and first Movers of their at-
 "tempts. Besides this, they were so prone to
 Slavery, that they had gone on to Vote all the
 lusts of the Army, had not a Tumult (their
 Arts being now turned upon their own heads,)
 from *London* stopp'd them in their violent
 speed, and kept the Speaker in his Chair till
 they had voted more generously, *that it was*
neither for their Honour nor Interest to satisfie
the demands of the Souldiers; and that *the King*
should come to London to treat.

These contrary desires of the divided Faction,
 which had joyntly oppressed their Sovereign,
 shewed, that *Ill men will more easily conspire to-*
gether in War, than consent in Peace; and that
Combinations in Crimes will conclude in Jea-
lousies, each Party thinking the advantages of
the other too great; and that Power is never
thought

thought faithfull which is accounted excessive. Therefore both prepare for War. With the 140 Members that sate in Parliament were joyned the City, and the cashiered Souldiers and Officers that had served in their pay. With the Army were the Speakers of both Houses; who had fled to them with about fifty of their Members that projected the Change of Government, being either for an Oligarchy or Democracie, yet left some of the same judgement behind, to betray and disturb the Counsels at *London*. To these did adhere the Neighbouring Counties, who were cajoled by the splendid Promises of the Army, of *Restoring the King*, (which they much boasted) *Dissolving the Parliament*, and *Establishing Peace and Government*: and they more willingly credited these, because they had conceived an hatred of the Parliament and City both for beginning the War, and now obstructing Peace. The Army intitule their attempts *for King and People*: Their Adversaries, *for bringing the King to His Parliament*. The Commanders were greedy of that War which promised an easie Victory, and made the poor Souldiers hope for the Plunder of the City.

For the advantage was clear on the Army's side, which consisted of veterane Souldiers, united among themselves by a long Converse, and known Commanders: but the force of the other was made up of a tumultuary Multitude, gathered under new Leaders, and so had no mutual

tual confidence; their meetings were full of doubts and fears, none could determine in private, nor in publick Consult, because they dared not trust one another; and it was observed that those who were most treacherous talk'd most boldly against the Enemy. Therefore in the very beginnings the Parliament and City desert their Enterprize, Treat with, and open their Gates to the Army, who march in Triumph through *London*, bringing the Speakers and their Fellow-Travellers to their Chairs, seize upon the *Tower*, dismantle the Fortifications, pull down all the Chains and Posts of the City, send the Lord Mayor and the Chief Citizens to the *Tower*, and reduce all the Power of the Nation in Obedience to the Commanders. For *Fairfax* is made General of all the Forces both in *England* and *Ireland*, and *Rainsbrough*, a Leveller, and a violent Head of the Democrats, High Admiral. The impeached *Presbyterians* fled beyond Sea, others of that Sect drooping complied with the Fortune of the Conquerours; and that which grieved good Men most, was, a *Publick Thanksgiving* (which is not to be observed but for the happy endeavours of a Nation in their vertuous and glorious undertakings for *Liberty and Safety*, but now was prophaned for our Slavery and Misery) to God was appointed for the Army, and they were entertained now at a Feast, whom before the City would have forced from their Walls.

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While these things were in Motion, the *King* consults Heaven for Direction, and his Party modestly abstain from either side, thought both to be abhorred, and knew that Party would be the worst which should overcome. The Army having now the greatest strengths of the Nation, the Parliament and City at their obedience, make no mention of their former promises to the *King*; only the Adjutators were fierce for breaking that Parliament, and calling another, as they call'd it, *more equal Representative*. But both their Synagogue and the Council of War, being now delivered from fear of the *Presbyterians*, began to contrive the destruction both of the *King* and Monarchy. As for the *King*, whom they had now brought to *Hampton-Court*, some that had before contrived His Death, and to murder Him while He was in the *Scotch* Camp, (so at once to satisfy their own Revenge, and Load their Enemies with the Infamy of the Murder,) yet could not then perform it, were now fierce for a speedy and secret Assassination by Pistol or Poison. Others would have Him tryed and condemned by their Council of War. But the Chiefs thought fit to proceed more artificially in their Crime, and when they should get more Authority, destroy Him by a Parliamentary way of Justice. To bring this about, they must proceed to make Him more odious, that the People might be patient while they kill Him, and undo them. To proceed

ceed therefore to their Impiety, *Cromwell* and his Creatures stickle fiercely in the House of Commons, and cause the Parliament to send, not Conditions of Peace to be treated on, but Propositions like Commands that admitted no dispute : which if the *King* had yielded unto, He had despoiled Himself of Majesty, and been thought guilty of so much want of Spirit as would conclude an unsuitness for Empire ; besides, such a voluntary Diminution would have been equally unsafe, as unglorious : And if He did not, then He was to be esteemed the only Obstacle of the Universal Peace. And lest the *King* should put them to more tedious Arts by signing them, they themselves to divert Him privately procure more soft Articles, and professed to be sorry the *Presbyterian* Sowreness and Rigour did yet leaven the House, which made these Propositions so unpleasant.

The *King* could not but perceive the practices of the Army, yet being resolved that no Dangers whatsoever should make Him satisfy those unreasonable Demands of the Parliament, which granted would have been the heaviest oppression on His Subjects, and the greatest injury to His Posterity He could possibly be guilty of ; For to good Princes the Safety of their People, and their own Memory, which is built upon the Happiness of Posterity through their Counsels, are more pretious than Life and Power ; and although Providence, and the Malice of His

Enemies had obstructed His way to Glory by Victories and Success, yet He would trace it in the unenvied and unquestionable paths of Constancy and Justice : Therefore to make His denial of them advantageous to Himself, by a seeming confidence in the Army's profers, thereby to oblige, if it were possible, those that had no sense either of Faith or Honour, or at least, to injealous those two Rivals for His Power, and commit them, the *King* absolutely rejects the Parliaments Propositions, and requires the *Demands of the Army as more equal, and fit for a Personal Treaty, and that the Army also should nominate Commissioners.* Cromwell and His Complices seemed to be joyful for this Answer of His Majesty, which had preferred them before their Competitors to the Honour of Justice and Moderation in the Eyes of the People; but yet secretly did they exasperate the minds of the more short-sighted Commons against the *King* for this Affront. And to the *King* they profess a shame and trouble upon their Spirits (for so they loved to speak) that they could not now perform their Promises : sometimes they excused themselves by a Reverence to the Parliament, at other times by the fierceness of the Adjutors; and when by these excuses they had coloured their delays to some length, they began to interpret their sayings otherwise than the *King* apprehended them, to forget what they had assured Him of, and at last openly to refuse any performance. To all these Perfidies they
add

add other Frauds, to beget a fear in Him of the Adjutors and the Levellers, who they informed Him meditated His Murder, professed they could not for the present moderate their bloody and impetuous Consultations, but when they should recover the lost Discipline of their Army, then they might easily and speedily satisfy their engagements to Him. To give credit to their words, the Fury of the Adjutors was blown to a more conspicuous Flame, their Papers were published for a change of Government, call'd *The Case of the Army*, and, *The Agreement of the People*; the animations of *Peters*, and another of the same Diabolical spirit, saying, *His Majesty was but a dead Dog*, were divulged, and all were communicated to some Attendants about the King, with an Advice from the Chiefs of the Army to escape for His Life: for they were unwilling He should be killed while they helplessly look'd on.

The fury and threatnings of men of such destructive and bloody Principles, who accounted *all things lawfull that they could do*, that *Providence administering Opportunity did invite and licence their impieties*, and *who imputed all their lusts, that had no colour from Justice, to the Perswasions of the Holy Spirit*, were not to be despised; nor was the King to abandon His Life, if He could without sin preserve it to a longer waiting upon God. Therefore with three of His most trusted Attendants, in the

dark, tempestuous and ominous night of *Novem.*
 11. He leaves *Hampton-Court*, some say, uncertain where to seek safety ; others, that He intended to take Ship, but being disappointed in His Expectation, He was at last fatally led into the Power, and, when He could not escape, committed Himself to the Loyalty and Honour of Col. *Hammond*, (a Confident of *Cromwell's*, who had been but a little before made Governor of the *Isle of Wight* for this very purpose,) and was by him conveyed to *Carisbrook-Castle*, the very Pit His Enemies had designed for Him. For it was discoursed in the Army above a fortnight before, that the *King* e're long would be in the *Isle of Wight* : and the very night He departed from *Hampton-Court*, the Centinels were withdrawn from their usual Posts, on purpose to facilitate His flight. The all-wise God not permitting Him to fly from those greater Trials, and more Glorious Acts of Patience He had designed for Him. Being here in this false Harbour, He minds that business which lay most on His Heart, the Settlement of the Nation ; He sends Concessions to the Parliament more benign and easie than they could desire or hope, together with His Reasons why He could not assent to their Demands ; and earnestly solicites them to pity the Languishing Kingdom, and come to a Personal Treaty with Him, on His Concessions and the Army's Demands.

But the Conspirators, to cut off all hopes of a
 Treaty,

Treaty, take this Occasion to send four Preliminary Articles, which if He would pass as Acts, they would treat of the rest. These were so unjust, that the *scotch* Commissioners in the Name of their Kingdom declare against them in publick Writings, and following the Messengers of Parliament to the *Isle of Wight*, do in the presence of His Majesty protest against them as contrary to the Religion, the Crown, and Accords of both Kingdoms. The *King*, according to His wonted Wisdom and Greatness of Mind, presently returns them an Answer, to shew the Injustice of having Him grant the chief things before the Treaty, which should be the Subject of it, and to give them such an Arbitrary Power, to the ruine of all the People. This Answer He delivered sealed to their Messengers, who desired that they might hear it read, and that they might be dealt with as Commissioners, not as bare Carriers (a greater trust than which their Masters had not committed unto them) and promise upon their Honour that it should not be any prejudice to Him. But His Majesty had no sooner read it, than they finding it not to the Gust of those that sent them, notwithstanding the Faith they had given, cause their Just Sovereign to be kept close Prisoner, force away His Chaplains, Dr. *sheldon*, now Lord Bishop of *London*, and Dr. *Hammond*, both which He highly valued for their Integrity, Wisdom, Piety and Learning, and His other Servants, even those whom the Parliament had placed formerly a-

bout Him, and in whom His Goodness had wrought both an Affection and Admiration of Him, and permit none about Him but such as they hoped would be a Watch upon Him, and whose barbarous Souls might trample on His Fortune. Besides they set strict Guards at His Doors and Windows, lest any Letters might come to Him, or be sent from Him.

The like reception His Letter found with the Parliament. For *Cromwell* and His Officers were resolved to go on with their Design, and having so long used the *Adjutors*, as served to frighten the *King* into the Toils they had set, they soon quiet them, (which was not difficult, being a Company of hot-headed fellows, that could only talk, not form a Counsel or a Party, to endure a Storm,) by executing some of their most pertinacious Leaders; and being free of that care, applied their practices wholly to the Destruction of His Majesty. To this purpose they moulded the Four Votes for *No Addresses to the King*; but before they bring them into Publick, they send into their several Counties about forty or fifty of the principal Members, who they thought would oppose them, to raise Money for the Souldiers. Nevertheless the first of those Votes was contested against so strongly, that the Debates lasted from ten of the Clock in the Morning till seven in the Evening; and though they thus wearied the more Honest Party, yet could it not pass till the Conspirators had

had engaged that no worse thing should be done to the *King*. The remaining Votes were dispatched in half an hours time, when those of the more sober Principles were gone forth to refresh themselves, and the Conspirators still kept their Seats. The House of Peers were not so hasty in them as the Commons had been, and their Debates vexed the Conspirators with Delays, till those who were sent by the Army to thank the Lower House for their Consent to these Desires of the Souldiers, did also threaten the Upper for their long Deliberations : some new Terrors were also added, for they quartered two of their Regiments at *White-Hall*, under colour of guarding the Parliament, but in truth to work upon the Lords; which had its effect, for many that had the most Honourable thoughts in this business, forsook the Parliament, and then three or four (which often was the fullest Number about those times in that House,) joyn with the Commons in their Votes for no Addresses.

This prodigious Perfidiousness in Parliament and Army, both which had so frequently declared and ingaged themselves by Oaths and Promises to preserve the *King* in His Just Rights, fill'd all men with amazement and indignation, to see how little they valued their Faith, who pretended so high to Religion; therefore each of them were put to satisfy the Common Fame. *Cromwell* to some would have cover'd this Impiety with another, that as *He was praying for a blessing*

a blessing from God on his undertakings, to restore the King to his pristine Majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of Prayer, and that God had rejected Him from being King. To others he did impudently assert, *That it was lawfull to circumvent a wicked man with deceit and frauds.* The Conspirators in the Parliament strove to honest their Proceedings by a Declaration, and assign in it for Causes of their Perjuries, all the Calumnies that had been raised against the *King* by His most professed Enemies, or from those uncertain Rumours which themselves had invented, adding and repeating others which had even in the Parliament House been condemned as Forgeries, (yet now were used as necessary Veils for a more execrable Falshood.) Which infamous Libel they cause to be sent to all the Parishes of the Kingdom, to be divulged, supposing that none did dare to refute their black and most malicious Slanders, or that none could publickly do it, because they set strict Watches upon all the Printing-Presses. They likewise Comanded the Curates to read it in their several Churches, and commend it to the People. And that these might the more readily observe their Orders, they at the same time strictly enjoyn the payment of Tithes, and Vote that the Dean and Chapter's Lands (which they had designed for profane Uses, and never intended they should be for the Emolument of Church-men) should be

be set apart for Augmentations for their Preachers, pretending a fervent zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, when they did most dishonour it. By their Agents, and the *Anabaptists*, with other Hereticks and Schismatics, they solícite the unacquainted Rabble to sign to Grattulatory Addresses to approve what they had already done, and petition for a speedy progress in the Ruine of His Majesty.

But all these their cursed Projects failed, for several Answers to their Defamations were published, One writ by the *King* Himself, another by * *Sir Edward Hyde*, and a third by * *Dr. Bates*: all which proved the Monstrous Falshoods of their

* A full Answer.

* The Regal Apology.

Paper, and that the Faction were guilty of what they imputed to the *King*; and this with such evidence, that none of their most mercenary Writers, or the most foul-mouthed Conspirators, did dare or hope with Success to reply unto. The Curates coldly, if at all, observed their Orders, and there came so few Petitions, and those signed by such contemptible and lewd Persons, as they rather loaded the Faction with more hatred, than gave them any credit. While generally in every place none of the People could contain their fury against these Impostors, but publickly cursed them and their Infamous Adherents.

For their Miseries made them sensible of the want

want of that *Prince* whose gentle and just Rule had brought them to such an inebriating Prosperity, that they had forgot the Minister of their Happiness. But now they found Government when it was out of His hand, like *Moses's* Rod cast on the ground, transformed to a Serpent ; and that those who pretended to free them from Tyranny had deluded them into the most insufferable Slavery : wherein they were either totally despoiled of all things that render our Being comfortable, or they were not secure in the use of them. Religion, the Ornament of the present, and the Pledge of a future Life, was so dishonoured by Schisms and Heresies (fomented to weaken the People by Divisions, to a tameness under their Oppressors) by Fasts for the most impious Designs, and Thanksgivings for prosperous Crimes ; that some men concluded it to be nothing else but the Invention of Tyrants, and the Disguise of Villains, and therefore did forsake it, and turn Atheists. Others that did still find the Inward Consolations of it, yet feared openly to profess it, lest they should be taken for those that pretended a Love to God, that they might more securely destroy men. Liberty also was now but an empty name : for all the Common Prisons were too narrow to receive even those that did not dare to break the Laws ; so that the Houses of Noble-men were converted to Gaols, for those that were unfortunate in honest enterprises ; where they were to languish with want and sickness,

sickness, and not be called to know their Offence or their Accusers, because they had not guilt enough for a publick Condemnation. Some were put a Ship-board in the midst of Summer, there to contract Diseases : Others were sold Slaves to foreign Plantations. Many to escape such nasty Confinements, or an ignominious Torture, fled from their Native Soil either to the Neighbouring Countries, where they were the Evidences of the Infamy and Barbarousness of our Nation; or seeking for Shelter in the Isles and Deserts of *America*, polluted those Rocks and Seas with *English* Blood.

Propriety was no longer hedged up by Law; but whom the Violence of the Souldier did not impoverish, the frauds of *Committee-men* would, from whose Rapines none were secure that had not been as criminal as themselves, and few safe that did not seek their favour, and bow down to their Greatness : These men taking advantage of the common evils, to satisfy either their private revenge, or lusts : for their Proceedings were not regulated by the known Laws; but the secret Instructions of their Masters in Parliament and Army, or their own Pleasures, were the Rules of administering Justice. An honest Fame likewise was a Mark for Ruine : for if any by just Arts had got the Esteem of the People and the Affections of His Neighbourhood, and did not comply with their Interest, first he was vexed with Slanders and Reproaches, and afterwards

terwards with Sequestration ; especially if he were a Minister : and it was their common Principle, that *an Honest Cavalier was the worst Enemy*, and a *Cavalier Saint did the most hurt* ; so that both their Vices and Vertues were equally hated. Common Converse was dangerous ; for they had Informers in every place, and Spies almost in every Family of Note : Servants were corrupted to accuse their Masters, and the Differences in Religion did injealous and arm the nearest Relations one against another : Men out of a mutual distrust would hasten from Company, to consult in private their peculiar Safety, for they knew their Words were observed, and their Secrets sought after. Few Families but had by the Civil War some loss to bewail ; some mourned over their disagreeing Members in different Camps, and had cause to fear which side soever prospered they must be miserable in some part.

These and many more Miseries were more highly embittered by the uncertainty of a Remedy : For the Parliament, that had the name of Government, were guilty of all these Reproaches of a Community, being Slaves to those whose interest it was to keep us thus miserable ; and if at any time they were free from the yoke of the Army, the two Sects kept them so divided, each Party labouring by Votes and Counsels to circumvent the other, that they could not mind the Universal Benefit. Besides the
Power

Power they exercised was too much to be well used, for they engrossed the Legislative Authority, and the Exercise of Jurisdiction. So that they would make Laws according to their Interest, and execute them according to their Lust; this day's Vote should contradict the former day's Order, and to morrow we must violate what to day we solemnly swore to observe: so that men knew not what to obey, nor where to rest. Thus all hopes of Liberty and Peace were lost in the Confinement of the *King*, who only was found able and willing to determine our Miseries. For His Principles were Uniform, and His Endeavours for a Settlement constant; besides His Adversities had illustrated, if not calcined, His Endowments. For now when He had no Friends, Counsellors, or Secretaries, His Discourses with Commissioners upon their several Addresses, and His Declarations of His own Injuries, the Nations Slavery, the Injustice of His and their Adversaries, were so excellently and prudently managed, that they undeceived the greatest part, and reconciled many of His bitter Enemies: therefore the whole Nation now panted for a Return to the Obedience of such an inestimable Prince.

These Considerations caused several attempts for His Deliverance, some Private, and others more Publick. The first was managed by those Servants whom the Parliament had placed about Him; for these won by His Goodness, of which

which they were daily witnesses, twice plotted His Escape, and ventured their Lives for His Liberty, but failed in both designs : and the last being discovered before it could be put into action, One *Rolfe*, a bloody Villain, (that had also endeavoured to poison Him, for which though he was publicly accused, yet was acquitted by that Judge whom the Conspirators had employed to hear that cause) waited to kill Him as He should descend from His Chamber.

[*Anno 1648.*] The more publick was that of the whole Nation : for intraged with their own Oppressions and the Miseries of their *Prince*, men in most Counties, even of those that had adhered to the Parliament, but now vexed that they had been so basely deluded, draw up Petitions for a *Personal Treaty with the King*; that *the Armies Arrears being paid they should immediately be disbanded*; that *Relief should be sent into Ireland, and England quite eased of the Contribution, which they could no longer bear*. To these Petitions there were such innumerable Subscriptions, that the Officers of the Army, and Parliament were mad to see their Threats of Sequestration, Imprisonment and Death, to make no Impression; and the Promises they likewise made were slighted, because discredited by their former Perjuries. The first Petitioners were the *Essex* men, who came in such Numbers as had not been seen before, as if they would force, not intreat for, what was necessary. After them those

those of *Surrey*, whom, by the command of the Officers and Parliament-men, the Souldiers assault at the Parliament-Doors; kill some, wound more, and plunder all: and for this brave Exploit upon unarmed Petitioners, they have the Thanks of the Commons, and a Largeſs for their Valour; that ſo the People might be affrighted from offering Petitions, which before the very ſame men had declared to be *the Birth-right of every Engliſh-man*. “ While men ſee and admire the Returns of the Divine Juſtice, and “ the reciprocal motions of the Popular heat, “ that the very ſame Parliament that firſt ſtirr’d “ up this way of tumultuary Petitions againſt “ the *King*, now complained that the Honour “ and Safety of Parliaments was indangered by “ Petitions.

But all their Tyranny upon the complaining Nation prevailed nothing but to provoke them to a higher Indignation and more frequent Petitions. And when they perceived they dealt with men obſtinate to their own Interests, which were not to be gained but by the Publick ruine, they fly from Prayers to Arms, and intitule their juſt War, *For the Liberty of King and People*. And in ſeveral places, as in *Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cornwall, Yorkſhire, Wales*, and at laſt in *Surrey*, multitudes take Arms for this Righteous Cauſe. The Navy alſo fall off, and ſetting *Rainsbrough* their levelling Admiral on Shore, ſeventeen Ships deliver themſelves up to

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the *Prince of Wales*. The *Scots* likewise by an Order of their own Parliament send into *England* (to recover the Liberty and Majesty of the *King*) an Army under *Hamilton*. But all was in vain, God had decreed other Triumphs for His Majesty, and to translate Him to another Kingdom. For the *English* being but tumultuarily raised, having no train of Artillery or Ammunition considerable, were soon suppress'd by a veterane Army provided with all necessaries. The *Scots*, either through weakness or wickedness of their Commanders, who made so disorderly a march that their Van and Rear were forty miles asunder, were easily worsted by *Cromwell*, who surpris'd their main Body, and *Hamilton* was taken Prisoner. *Cromwell* follows the scattered Parties into *Scotland*, where they were likewise assaulted by *Argyle*, a domestick Enemy, and forced to submit those Arms the Parliament had put into their hands to the Faction of that false Earl; who calls another Parliament, from which all were excluded that in the former Voted for the *King's* Delivery, and all the Orders of that Convention made void. *Cromwell* had the Publick Thanks, and the private Faith of *Argyle* to endeavour, as opportunity permitted, the extirpation of Monarchy out of *Scotland*.

The Navy also deserts the *Prince*, being corrupted by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was appointed for this Service; and when he had ingloriously

gloriously bought off their Faith to their lawfull *Prince*, himself was ignominiously cashiered by the Conspirators. These great disappointments and overthrows of just Enterprises men variously attributed to different Causes. "Some
"to the Perfidiousness, others to the Weakness
"of those that managed them; as also to the
"Treachery of some *Presbyterians*, who in ha-
"tred to the Army first encouraged, and then in
"Jealousie of the *Royallists* basely deserted
"them. For the *Rabbies* of the *Kirk* cursed
"Hamilton in the beginning of his Enterprise.
"Another sort thought them unhappy, because
"the greatest part of the Undertakers were such
"that formerly had either fought against the
"King, or else had betrayed Him, and God
"would not now bless their unexpiated Arms.
"And some to the Fate of the Kingdom, which
"God had decreed to give over to numerous
"and impious Tyrants, because of their un-
"thankfulness and impatience under so Incom-
"parable a *Prince*.

But while these things were managed by the Army that were now at a distance, and *Cromwell's* Terrors were greater in *Scotland* than here, the less guilty Parliament-men seriously considering how impatient the People (who in *London* and other places had gotten innumerable Subscriptions to a Petition for a Personal Treaty) now were of those Injuries that were done to their Sovereign, how hateful themselves

grew, because they had betrayed and enslaved their own Privileges, together with the Liberties of the Subject to an insatiable and Phana-tick Army, and how an evident Ruine attend-ed even their Conquests of Him whom it was unlawful to assault, did at last (though too late) contrary to the clamours of their Factious and Democratick Members, Repeal those Votes which they had formerly made, of *No more Ad-dresses* to the King. This being passed in both Houses, they afterwards with a strong Consent Vote a *Treaty* with the King, in Honour, Free-dom and Safety. The Factious Party in the Par-liament found themselves too few and weak to oppose this impetuous tendency of the Two Houses and the whole Kingdom to Peace. But yet they endeavoured to frustrate the labours of their more sincere Members, and to baffle the People's just desires of it, by imposing ma-ny unequal Conditions, and obstructive restri-ctions.

For they procured that the Treaty should be in the *Isle of Wight*, and not at *London*; that it should be by Commissioners, and not imme-diately with the two Houses, as was Petitioned. The Propositions that were sent to be Treated were the same which had before been offered to the King at *Hampton-Court*, and were then rejected by Him, and also condemned by the Army it self as too unjust. The Commissioners were so streightned in Power, that it was not
lawful

lawful for them to soften any one of the Conditions of Peace, not to alter the Preface, or change the Order of the Propositions, nor to debate a Subsequent till the Precedent were agreed on. They could conclude nothing; they were only to propose the Demands, urge Reasons for the Royal Assent, receive the *King's* Answer, and refer all in writing to the Parliament, whose slow Resolves, and the delays of sending were supposed would consume that narrow measure of time which was appointed to debate so many and so different things, for they were limited to forty days. The Commissioners they sent, were Five of the *Lord's House* and Twelve of the *Commoners*, and with them some of their *Presbyterian Ministers*, who were to press importunately for their Church-Government, to elude the *King's* Arguments for Episcopacy, and only to impose, not to dispute, their own.

With all these, upon so many several and different Propositions, some relating to the Law of the Land, others to Reason of State, and some to the practice of the Apostolical Primitive Churches, the *King* was to deal without publick assistance. For though He was permitted the Ministry of some Officers of State, Counsellours and Divines, yet were they but of private advice, and to stand behind the Curtain; He only Himself was to speak in the Debate, and singly to manage matters of Policy with their

most exercised Statists, and the points of Divinity with their best-studied Divines. “ The
 “ Vulgar, to whom the Arts of these men were
 “ not so obvious, were much pleased with the
 “ Name of a Treaty, and now hoped to ex-
 “ change their Servitude under so many impor-
 “ tunate Tyrants, for the moderate and easie
 “ Government of one Lawful *King*. Others
 “ that had a clearer insight, and observed with
 “ what difficulties it was burthened, hoped for
 “ no benefit from it. Because that if His Ma-
 “ jesty should not Consent, as they believed He
 “ would not, then He would be the object of
 “ the popular impatience : And if He should
 “ Consent, He that now was thought to be most
 “ injuriously dealt with, would then be con-
 “ ceived not to deserve the Pity even of His
 “ Friends ; nor could He gain any other thing
 “ by His Concessions, than to be ruined with
 “ more Dishonour. So that considering both
 “ the inviolable Integrity of His Majesty, and
 “ the implacable Malice of His Enemies, they
 “ despaired of any happy Issue.

But beyond the Faith of these men, and the Hopes of the other, the *King's* incredible Prudence had found Temperaments for their most harsh Propositions. And by a present Judgment and commanding Eloquence did so urge His own, and refell their Arguments, that He forced an Admiration of Himself, and, which was a Testimony of the Divine Assistance, drew
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many of the unwilling Commissioners to His own Opinion (though their Commission, and the danger of their Lives, necessitated them, contrary to the dictates of their own Consciences, to prolong the Debates;) with a wonderful Lenity proved their Demands unjust, yet granted what was not directly against His Honour and Conscience: Thus divesting Himself of His own Rights, He demonstrated that He had those Affections which might justly style Him *the Father of His Country*. For He indeavour'd by His own Losses to repair the damages of His People. Yet the *King* saw by the Obstinacy of the most Powerful of those He Treated with, that they intended nothing less than Peace, nor any thing more than His Destruction; which that it might be adequate to their Malice, they would have it accompanied with the damnation of His Soul (as He Himself in bitterness complained to One of His Servants) pressing Him to do those things which they themselves acknowledged sinful, as the Alienation of Church-Lands. Although His Majesty was thus sensible of their insatiable thirst for His Blood, yet because He had passed His Royal Word not to stir out of that Island, He did not hearken to the same Servant, who perswaded Him to provide for His Safety by flight, which He assured Him was not difficult, and in administering to which He offered to hazard his own blood. But the *King* alwayes thought His Life beneath the Honour of Faithfulness, and would

not give His Enemies that advantage over His Fame, which their unjust Arms and Frauds had gotten upon His Person, chusing rather to endure whatsoever Providence had allotted for Him, than by any approach to Infamy seek to protract those dayes which He now began to be weary of: *For that life is no longer desirable to Just Princes, which their People either cannot or will not preserve.* And He thought *it more Eligible to die by the Wickedness of Others, than to live by His own.*

While the Treaty thus proceeded, the Army under the Command of the Lord *Fairfax* and *Irton*, (this last was Bold, Subtle, Perfidious and Active in all Designs; so that his Soul being congenial with that of *Cromwell*, had been the cause of an Alliance betwixt them, for he had Married one of *Cromwell's* Daughters, and therefore was left to hover about the General as an evil *Genius*, that he might do nothing contrary to their Impious Design,) drew towards *London*, and quartered within half a days march from the City; that if their Interest did require, they might the more suddenly oppress those who were less favourable to their Enterprises. The Officers did at first publicly profess a great Modesty, as that *they would quietly submit to the Orders of the Parliament; that they did prefer the Common Peace to their own private Advantages, and should be glad to be dismissed from the toyls of War:* yet in private practised

practised an universal Confusion, for mingling Counsels with their Factious Party in the Two Houses, they set up again the Meetings of their Adjutators, framed among themselves Petitions against the Treaty, and to require that all Delinquents without difference (wherein they included the Person of the *King*) might be brought to Tryal; and by their Emissaries abroad drew some inconsiderable and ignominious persons, (by representing large spoils in the subversion of Monarchy, and imaginary advantages by the change of Government,) to subscribe to them.

When they thought these practices had produced their desired effect, and they had infected most of the Souldiers in the several Garrisons, and that more Parties of their Army were gathered to their Quarters about *London*; *Ireton*, under pretext of a Contrast betwixt him and *Fairfax*, withdraws himself privately to *Windfor* Castle, where being met by some of his Complices in the Parliament, they joyntly frame a Declaration in an imperious and affected Style. Wherein in the name of the Army he maliciously declaims against all Peace with the *King*, and His Restitution to the Government: afterwards he impiously demands that he may be dealt with as the Grand and Capital Delinquent: with these he mingles some things to terrifie the Parliament, some to please the Souldiers, and others to raise hopes of Novelty in the Rabble.

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This being prepared, and the Treaty now drawing towards an End (which those of the Faction had prolonged and disturbed, that the Army might have more time to gather together) and the Commanders having a perfect Intelligence how all things in the *Isle of Wight* and in the Parliament did strongly tend to an Accommodation, they thought it now seasonable to begin their intended Crime. Therefore they speedily call a Council of War, at which met the Colonels, and other inferiour Officers, all men of Mercenary Souls, Seditious, Covetous, and so accustomed to Dissimulation, that they seemed to be composed by nature to frame and colour Impostures. They began their Meeting with Prayers and Fasting, pretending to inquire and seek the Will of God concerning the Wickedness they had predetermined to act. *This is the constant practice of such who would most securely abuse the Patience of the People, while they commit the most horrid Crimes. For not being able to honest their Iniquities by any colour of Reason, or any Command of the known Will of God, they pretend to a guidance by Revelation and Returns of Prayer.* This Imposture they had hitherto successfully used; and the credulous Rabble of the common Souldiers were drawn to a perswasion, that God did counsel all the Designs of these armed Saints. Thus having prefaced their Villany, *Ireton* produces his Remonstrance, which being read among them was received

received by the *Souldiers* (who, *through a pleasure in blood, and hopes of Spoil, are used to praise every thing of their Chiefs, whether good or bad, that tends to disturbance, and continuance of War,*) with as great an Applause as if it had been an Oracle from Heaven; and to make it the more terrible, they styled it the *Remonstrance of the Army*, and order it to be presented to the Parliament in the name of *the Army and People of England*.

“ When this Remonstrance was published, the
 “ minds of men were variously affected. Some
 “ wondred that persons of so abject a Condition
 “ should dare to endeavour the alteration
 “ of an Ancient Government, an attempt so far
 “ above their fortune; and to design against the
 “ Person of their Sovereign, who by the Splen-
 “ dour of his former Majesty, and by a con-
 “ tinued Descent from so many Royal Progeni-
 “ tors, had derived all that challenges the Re-
 “ verence of the People. And they thought
 “ the act so full of a manifest Wickedness, that
 “ the Contrivers could not really intend the Ex-
 “ ecution, but only used it as a Mormo to
 “ frighten the *King* and Parliament to hearken
 “ to their Pretensions of a lesser guilt. Others
 “ considering their former Crimes and Injuries
 “ both to *King* and People, and their damna-
 “ ble blasphemies of the Almighty God, did tru-
 “ ly judge that their preceding Iniquities had
 “ now habituated and temper’d them for the ex-
 “ tremest

"tremest mischiefs; and that having proceeded
 "thus far, they would think their Safety con-
 "sisted in an accumulation of their Sins. Only
 "they admired that these men would discredit
 "their ancient Arts of pretending to God's Di-
 "rection, (in which they could not so easily by
 "every Vulgar judgement be deprehended) by
 "boasting of the Concurrence of the People,
 "which was too evident a Cheat, for not one
 "in a thousand through the whole Nation but
 "did abominate their practices. But others more
 "Speculative knew it was *the accustomed Me-*
 "*thod of the Subverters of a lawfull Magistracy*
 "*and Invaders of a Tyranny, first to seek the fa-*
 "*vour of the Rabble by high pretences of Liberty*
 "*and Justice, and then to boast of it as though*
 "*they had it, and were entrusted by the People to*
 "*recover what they presented to their hopes and*
 "*desires;* and that these men following the same
 "practices would be the greatest Oppressors of
 "those whom they pretended to vindicate.

The Parliament though hitherto they had
 been very obsequious to the Army, yet the
 Members now meeting in greater Numbers than
 usually, and preferring the utmost hazards to a
 Compliance with this Remonstrance, laid it a-
 side, and fell to debate the *King's Concessions*
 which then lay before them. This free and
 stout Carriage of theirs was much resented by
 the Souldiers, who stormed at the contempt of
 those whose Grandeur depended upon their
 Arms.

Arms. And lest they should miscarry in their Chief Design, and lose the Sacrifice to their Ambition, they immediately sent a Party of their Army into the *Isle of Wight*, to secure the *King*: these laying hold upon Him, with a most Insolent Rudeness, not permitting the delay of a Breakfast, forced Him from the *Island* into *Hurst Castle*, an unwholesome and sordid place. The other part of their Army they cause to march towards *London*, with all the imaginable signs of terrour, as if they went to sack and plunder an Enemies Town. When they had entered, they were quartered in those Houses of the *King* and Nobility which were nearest the Parliament-House, hoping by the greatness and nearness of the danger, so to affright those Members who were not so wicked as to comply with them, that they should voluntarily withdraw, and hiding themselves, leave the possession to their own scanty Party. For then the Violence would seem less, and give more Authority to their unjust Decrees.

But the honest Members were more in love with Justice, and therefore not terrified with the Menaces and Clamours of the Souldiers, but as inspired with some unaccustomed Courage at this time, and thinking themselves guarded by the Priviledges of Parliament, with a greater boldness than usually they did upon just designs, they appear in the House. Where the *Commoners* re-assuming the consideration of the *King's Concessions*,

Concessions, continued that Debate till past Midnight; the Factious Party, and the Creatures of the Army still raising new Doubts and Scruples, multiplying Cavils, and by tedious harangues wasting the time, that the more Just Party, which consisted most of Gentlemen of Fortunes, not accustomed to such Watchings and Fastings, might be wearied out, and leave them to their own Resolves: and also that they might give time to the whole Army to march into the *City* that Night. Among the rest, Sir Henry Vane, (who was born to disquiet the world, and to be a firebrand of Communities, yet still carrying his designs of Confusion under a feigned meekness and simplicity of the Gospel) This Man in the *Isle of Wight* had perswaded the *King* not to be prodigal in His *Concessions*; that He had already yielded more than was fit for them to ask, or Him to grant, and undertook to make it evident to the whole world: yet now did most fiercely and perfidiously inveigh against the *Concessions*, as designed by the *King* under the species of Peace to ruine the Parliament and Common-wealth. Yet at last, notwithstanding those Terrours without, and Troubles within, the House came to this Resolve, that *The Kings Concessions were a sufficient ground for Peace*. Which was carried by Two Hundred Voices, and there were scarce Sixty Dissenters.

The next day the same Resolve was passed by the
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the *Lords* in the very same terms, not one dissenting. Who immediately adjourned for a week, to wait whether this fury of the Army would spend it self after so generous an opposition. And the House of Commons sent some of their own Members to acquaint the Lord *Fairfax* and his Officers of this their Vote. This free and publick detestation of the Crime, that was designed, did extremely enrage the Projectors of it, and the Democrattick Party in the House mingled Threatnings with their Advices. For One of the Chiefs of the Faction could not forbear to assure them, that *If they continued in this their Resolve, they should never after have Liberty of meeting there again.* Which accordingly was executed : for the next day they were to meet there, the Colonels had placed a guard of two Regiments of Foot and one of Horse upon the House of Commons, who strictly keeping all the Avenues thereto, that none might enter without their Licence, laid hold upon Forty Members that were Persons of the most known Integrity and highest Resolution; they denied admission to One hundred and fifty more, and suffered none to enter of whose servile compliance they were not well assured. Some that had escaped their observation, and got into the House, by tickets, as from Friends or Servants, they invite forth; whom being once without doors they violently force away, while they in vain pleaded the *Privileges of Parliament.*

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The imprisoned Members they vex and torture with great Indignities, exposing them to the mockeries and insolencies of the Common Souldiers : although there were among them many that had before Commanded Armies, Brigades and Regiments in the Parliament's cause against the *King* ; and others that had been most importunate assertors of their first injustice to their Prince. “ Those that beheld these vicissitudes wondred, and acknowledged the just Judgement of God, that had thus visibly and properly punished the Injustice of these men against their Lawful Sovereign, by the ministry of their own more vile and mercenary Souldiers, and did thus upbraid them with the falseness of their Principles by which they acted against the *King* ; the very same now serving to honest this violence that was committed on them : for both equally pretended to a Necessity of Reformation, and Self-preservation. Others were inquisitive for the faith of these men, who taking up Arms for the Sacred Privileges of Parliament, had now left nothing but the Walls of that House. For the Number that would serve them was not equal to the Name of a Parliament, being scarce the eighth part of that Convention, and not much above Forty in all, and those the reproach of that Assembly. For besides those that were violently excluded, others that did abhor the Conditions of sitting there withdrew

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withdrew themselves to their own homes. And many of those who formerly deluded by their pretensions to Religion, Justice and Liberty, had hitherto been of the Faction, yet now awakened by these clamorous Crimes, forsook their bloody Confederacy.

Yet did not this contemptible Number, of which in most Votes there were Twenty Dissenters, blush to assume the Authority of managing the weightiest Affairs of the *English Empire*, to alter and change the Government, to expose His Majesty to a violent Murder, and to overthrow the Ancient Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. For being wholly devoted to the service of the Army, they communicated counsels with them; and whatsoever was resolved at the *Council* of War, passed into a Law by the Votes of this Infamous Remnant of the House of Commons, who now served the Soldiers in hopes of part of the Spoil, and a precarious *Greatness*, which *being acquired by so much Wickedness could not be lasting*. In order therefore to the Army's design they revive those Votes of *No Addresses to the King*; (which had at first but surreptitiously, and by base practices passed, and had been afterwards Repealed by a full House.) Those Votes of *a Treaty with the King*, and of the *Satisfactoriness of His Concessions*, with scorn they raised out of the *Journal-Book*. And then proceeded to Vote,

N

1. That

1. *That the People under God are the Original of all Just Power.*
2. *That the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, being Chosen by, and Representing the People, have the Supreme Authority of this Nation.*
3. *That whatsoever is enacted and declared for Law by the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament (by which they understood themselves) hath the force of a Law.*
4. *That all the People of this Nation are concluded thereby, although the Consent and Concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.*
5. *That to raise Arms against the People's Representative or Parliament, and to make War upon them, is High Treason.*
6. *That the King Himself took Arms against the Parliament, and on that account is guilty of the blood shed throughout the Civil War, and that He ought to expiate the crime with His own blood.*

“Those that were less affected with the common Fears and Miseries could not temper their mirth and scorn at such ridiculous Usurpers,
“that

"that thought to adjust their Crimes by their
 "own Votes; that in one breath would adorn
 "the People with the Spoils of *Monarchy*, and
 "in the next rob the People to invest them-
 "selves. And (it is said that) even *Cromwell*
 "(who intended to ruine our Liberty,) was
 "ashamed, and scorned their so ready Slavery,
 "and afterwards did swear at the Table of an
 "*Independent* Lord, that *he knew them to be*
 "*Rascals, and he would so serve them.* Others
 "of more melancholy Complexions, consider-
 "ing the baseness of these servile Tyrants, and
 "the humours of their barbarous Masters the
 "Souldiers, all whose inhumanities they were to
 "establish by a Law; and that *Power gotten by*
 "*Wickedness cannot be used with the Modesty*
 "*that is fit for Just Magistrates;* justly feared
 "that as under the *King* they had enjoyed the
 "height of Liberty, so under these men they
 "were to be overwhelmed in the depth of Sla-
 "very: and that these Votes which overturn-
 "ed the very Foundation of our Laws, could
 "not be designed but for some horrid Impiety,
 "and our lasting Bondage, which came so to
 "pass.

For in their next Consultations, they Consti-
 tute a *Tribunal* to Sentence their *Sovereign*
 (which afterwards they used as a Shambles for
 the most Loyal and Gallantest of the *Nobles* and
People) of the most abject Subjects; and to pro-
 cure a Reverence to the Vilest of men, they give

it the specious name of *The High Court of Justice*. For which they appoint One hundred and fifty Judges (that the Number might seem to represent the whole Multitude) of the most violent and heady of all the Faction: To whom they give a *Power of Citing, Hearing, Judging and Punishing* CHARLES STUART King of England. To make up this Number they had named six *Peers* of the Upper House, and the twelve *Judges* of the Land. But the greatest part were Officers of the Army (who having confederated against His Majesty, and publickly required His Blood, could not without a contempt to the light of Reason be appointed His Judges) and Members of the Lower House, who were most violent against Monarchy, and indeed all Government wherein themselves had no share. The rest were Persons pick'd out of the City of *London* and Suburbs thereof, who they imagined would be most obsequious to their Lusts.

“ Those that surveyed the List, and knew the
 “ Men, deemed them most unfit for a Trust of
 “ Justice, and proper Instruments for any wick-
 “ ed undertaking; for of these Judges one or
 “ two were *Cobblers*, others *Brewers*, one a *Gold-*
 “ *smith*, and many of them *Mechanicks*. Such
 “ among them as were descended of Ancient
 “ Families, were men of so mean worth, that
 “ they were only like the *Statues* of their An-
 “ cestors, had nothing but their Names to make
 “ them

“ them known unto the World. Some of them
“ were *Spend-thrifts, Bankrupts*, (such as could
“ be neither safe nor free, unless the Kingdom
“ were in Bondage) and most notorious *Adul-*
“ *terers*, whose every Member was infamous
“ with its proper Vice ; Vain and Atheistical in
“ their Discourse, Cowardly and Base in Spirit,
“ Bloody and Cruel in their Counsels, and those
“ Parts that cannot honestly be named were
“ most dishonest. *One* of them was accused of
“ a *Rape* ; *Another* had published a *Book* of
“ Blasphemies against the *Trinity of the Deity*.
“ Some of them could not hope to get *impuni-*
“ *ty* for their Oppressions of the Country and
“ Expilations of the publick Treasure, but by
“ their Ministry to this Murther. Others could
“ not promise themselves an *advancement* of
“ their abject or declining Fortune but by this
“ Iniquity. Yet all these by the Faction were
“ inrolled in the Register of Saints, though fit-
“ ter to stand as Malefactors at the Bar, than to
“ sit upon Seats of Judgement. And notwith-
“ standing their diligent search for such a Num-
“ ber of men, who would not blush at nor fear
“ any guilt, some of those whom they had na-
“ med, in abhorrency of the Impiety, refused
“ to sit ; and some that did, yet met there in
“ hopes of disturbing their Counsels.

All this while the House of *Peers* were not
Consulted, and it was commonly supposed that
most of them terrified with those Preparations

against the *King* (*the only defence of the Nobles against the Popular Envie*) would absent themselves from that House, except four or five that were the Darlings of the Faction; and they deemed the Names and Compliance of those few were enough to give credit and Authority to their bloody Act. But in them they were disappointed also; for some of the *Peers* did constantly meet, and on that day wherein the *Bill for Tryal of the King* was carried up to that House, there were Seventeen then present (a greater Number than usual,) who all Unanimously (even the Democratick Lords not dissenting) did reject *the Bill as Dangerous and Illegal*. This so highly provoked the Fury of the Faction, that they meditated a severe revenge, and for the present blotted out those *Peers*, whose Names they had before put into their Ordinance, to make their Court more splendid. After this they did also rase out the names of the *Judges of the Land*; for they being privately Consulted concerning these Proceedings against the *King*, (although they had been all raised to that Dignity and Trust by the Faction, yet) answered, that *It was contrary to the known Laws and Customs of England, that the King should be brought to Tryal*.

To heal these two wounds which the *Lords* and *Judges* had branded their Cause with, they use two other Artifices to keep up the Spirits and Concurrence of their Party. First, they
bring

bring from *Hertfordshire* a Woman (some say a *Witch*) who said, that *God by a Revelation to her did approve of the Army's Proceedings*. Which Message from Heaven was well accepted of with Thanks, as *being very seasonable, and coming from an humble Spirit*. A second was the *Agreement of the People*, which was a Module of a *Democratical Politie*, wherein those whose abject Condition had set them at a great distance from Government, had their hopes raised to a share of it, if they conspired to remove the great Obstruction, which was the Person and Life of the *King*. This was presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller* and sixteen other Officers, as a temporary remedy; for when they had perpetrated their Impiety, they discountenanced and fiercely prosecuted those that endeavoured it.

In confidence of these their Arts and their present Power, notwithstanding all these Publick Abhorrencies and detestations by all Persons of Honour and Knowledge, they Enacted their Bill. And for *President* of this Court, they chose one of the Number, *John Bradshaw*; "A person
" of an equal Infamy with his new employment.
" A Monster of Impudence, and a most fierce
" Prosecutor of evil purposes. Of no repute among those of his own Robe for any Knowledge in the Law: but of so virulent and petulant a Language, that he knew no measure
" of modesty in Speaking; and was therefore

“ more often bribed to be silent, than fee’d to
 “ maintain a Client’s Cause. His Vices had
 “ made him penurious, and those with his pe-
 “ nury had seasoned him for any execrable un-
 “ dertaking. They also had a *Sollicitor* of the
 same Metal, *John Cooke*, “ A needy man, who
 “ by various Arts, and many Crimes had sought
 “ for a necessary Subsistence, yet still so poor,
 “ that he was forced to seek the shelter of ob-
 “ scure and sordid corners to avoid the Prison.
 “ So that vexed with a tedious Poverty, he was
 “ prevailed upon through the hopes of some
 “ splendid booties to venture on this employ-
 “ ment, which at the first mention he did pro-
 “ fess to abhor. These were their Chief A-
 gents : other inferiour Ministers they had equal-
 ly qualified with these their prime Instruments,
 as *Doriflaus* a German *Bandito*, who was to
 draw up the Charge ; *Steele*, another of their
 Counsel, under pretence of sickness covered his
 fear of the Event, though he did not abhor the
 wickedness of the Enterprize, having before
 used his Tongue in a cause very unjust, and re-
 lating to this, the Murther of Captain *Burleigh*.
 The *Serjeants*, *Clerks* and *Cryer* were so ob-
 scure, that the world had never taken notice
 of them, but by their subserviency to this Im-
 piety.

These were the Publick Preparations ; In pri-
 vate they continually met to contrive the Form
 of their Proceedings, and the Matter of their
 Accusation,

Accusation. Concerning the first, they were divided in Opinions. Some would have the *King* first formally degraded and divested of all His Royal habiliments and Ensignes of Majesty, and then as a private person exposed to Justice. But this seemed to require a longer space of time than would comport with their project, which, as all horrid acts, was to be done in a present fury, lest good Counsels might gather strength by their Delay. Others rejected this course as too evidently conforming with the *Popish* procedure against *Sovereign Princes*, and they feared to confirm that common Suspicion, that they followed *Jesuitical* Counsels (whose *Society* (it is reported) upon the *King's* offering to give all possible Security against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, at a Council of theirs did decree to use their whole Interest and Power with the Faction to hasten the *King's* death.) Which sober *Protestants* had reason enough to believe, because all or most of the Arguments which were used by the Assertors of this Violence on His Majesty, were but gleanings from *Popish* Writers. These Considerations cast the Determination on their side who, designing a Tyrannical *Oligarchy*, whereby they themselves might have a share in the Government, would have the *King* proceeded against as *King*, that by so shedding His Blood they might extinguish Majesty, and with Him murder Monarchy. For several of them did confess, that indeed He was guilty of no Crime more than that He was their
King,

King, and because the Excellency of His Parts, and Eminent Vertues, together with the Rights of His Birth, would not suffer Him to be a private Person.

In their second Debate about the Matter of Accusation, all willingly embraced the Advice of *Harrison* (who was emulous of the Power of *Cromwell*, and though now his Creature, yet afterwards became the Firebrand and Whirlwind of the following Times) *to blacken Him* as much as they could; yet found they not wherewith to pollute His Name. For their old Scandals which they had amassed in their Declaration for no more Addresses to the *King*, had been so publicly refuted, that they could afford no colour for His Murther. Therefore they formed their Accusation from that War to which they had necessitated Him. And their Charge was, that *He had levied War against the Parliament; that He had appeared in Arms in several places, and did there proclaim War, and executed it by killing several of the Good People; for which they impeached Him as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and an implacable Common Enemy.* “This Charge, in the Judgement of Consider-
“ing men, argued a greater guilt in those that
“prosecuted it than in Him against whom it was
“formed: for they seemed less sensible of the
“instability and infirmities of humane Nature,
“than those that had none but her light to
“make them generous, for such never reproach-
“ed

"ed their conquered Enemies with their Victo-
 "ry; but these men would murder their own
 "Prince, against whom they had nothing more
 "to object than the unhappy issues of a *War*,
 "which *leaves the Conquered the only Crimi-*
 "*nal, while the names of Justice and Goodness*
 "*are the spoils of the Conquerour.* How false
 "those Imputations of *Tyranny, Treason* and
 "*Murder* were, was sufficiently understood by
 "those who considered the peaceful part of the
 "King's Reign; wherein it was judged, that if
 "in any thing He had declined from the safest
 "Arts of Empire, it was in the neglect of a just
 "Severity on Seditious persons whom the Laws
 "had condemned to die. And in the War it
 "was known how often His Lenity had clipped
 "the wings of Victory. But it appeared that
 "these men, as they had broken all Rights of
 "Peace, so they would also those of Conquest,
 "and destroy that which their Arms pretended
 "to save.

How little credit their Accusation found ap-
 peared by the endeavours of all Parties to pre-
 serve the King's Person from Danger, and the
 Nation from the guilt of His Blood. For while
 they were thus engaged to perpetrate their in-
 tended Mischiefs, all Parties declare against it.
 The *Presbyterian* Ministers, almost all those of
London, and very many out of the several *Coun-*
ties, and some, though few, also of the *Inde-*
pendents, did in their Sermons and Conferences,

as

as also by Monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations and Remonstrances, publicly divulged, adjure the Assassins not to draw so great a guilt upon themselves and the whole Nation by that Murther. *For it was contrary to those numerous and fearful Obligations of their many Oaths; to the Publick and Private Faith, which was express in their Protestations and many Declarations; to the Laws of the Land, those of Nature, and Nations, and the Commands of Scripture. That is was to the dishonour of our Religion, and against the publick good of the Kingdom.* But all was fruitless, for they had lost their Ministerial Authority by serving the Faction so long, till they needed not their Assistance, and despised their admonitions: Besides, the very same Principles they preached to kindle the War were now beat back into their faces, and made use of against them to adjust the Murther. The People also contemned them for their short-sightedness, in that they would be the heady and indiscreet Instruments of such men, and in such practices as must of necessity at last ruine them and all Ministers, as well as the King and Bishops.

The Scots also by their Commissioners declare and protest against it. The States of Holland by their Ambassadors (if they were faithful in their trust) did intercede, and deprecate it as most destructive to the Protestant Interest. Some of the most eminent of the Nobility, as the

the *Earl of Southampton*, the *Duke of Richmond*, the *Marquess of Hertford*, the *Earl of Lindsey*, and others, neglect no wayes, either by Prayers or Ransom, to save the *King*. Yea, they offered themselves, as being the prime Ministers of the *King's* Commands, as *Hostages* for Him, and if the Conspirators must needs be fed with blood, to suffer in His stead for whatsoever He had done amiss. The *Prince* piously assaies all wayes and means to deliver His Father from the danger. For besides the *States Ambassadors* (whom He had procured) both He and the *Prince of Orange* did daily send as Agents the Kindred, Relations, and Allies of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the other Conspirators, with full power to propose any Conditions, make any Promises, and use all Threatnings to divert them, if it were possible, from their intended Cruelty, or at least to gain some time before the Execution. But all was in vain, for no Conditions of Peace could please them who were possessed with unlawful and immoderate desires : their Ambition (that is more impetuous than all other affections) had swallowed the hopes of Empire ; therefore they would remove the *King* to enthrone themselves. Some thought that their despair of Pardon had hardened them to a greater Inhumanity, for if after all these attempts they continued the *King's* Life, they must beg their own ; which they knew Justice would not, and they resolved Mercy should not give ; for this is reckoned
among

among the benefits which we hate to receive, and *Men are usually ashamed to confess they deserved death.*

Whatsoever it was that truly made them thus cruel, they publickly pretended no other Motive than the *Calls and Ducts of Providence*, and the *Impulses of the Blessed Spirit*. To carry on this Cheat, *Hugh Peters* ("the Pulpit-Buffoon, " of a luxuriant Speech, ~~skilled to~~ move the " Rabble by mimical Gestures, Impudent; and " Prodigal of his own and others fame, Ignominious from his Youth, for then suffering the " contumely of Discipline, being publickly " whipt, at *Cambridge*, he was ever after an " Enemy to Government, and therefore leagued " himself with unquiet Sectaries) preaches before these fictitious Judges upon that Text, *Psal. 149. 8. To bind their Kings in chains, and their Nobles in fetters of iron.* He assures them undoubtedly that this was prophesied of them, that they were the *Saints* related to in that Scripture, that they should judge the *Kings* of the Earth, often calling them in his profane Harangue the *Saint-Judges*. Then he professed, that *he had for a certain found upon a strict Scrutiny, that there were in the Army 5000 Saints, no less holy than those that now in Heaven conversed with God.* Afterwards kneeling in his Pulpit, weeping and lifting up his hands, he earnestly begs them in the name of the *People of England*, that they would execute Justice upon

upon that Wretch *CHARLES*, and would not let *Benhadad* escape in Safety. Then he inveighs against *Monarchy*, and wrests the Parable of *Jotham* to his purpose, wherein when the *Trees* would chuse a *King*, the *Vine* and the *Olive* refused the Dignity, but the *Bramble* received the Empire, and he compared *Monarchy* to the *Bramble*. And all the while of contriving and executing this Murther he preached to the Souldiers, and in some places about the *City*, bitterly and contemptuously railing against the *King*. Others also of the Congregational perswasion acted their parts in this *Tragedie*, but more closely, and not so much in the face of the Sun.

The Conspirators taking heat from their infamous Preachers, whom they themselves had first kindled, and somewhat doubting that these several strong Applications from all Parties to save the *King*, and the Universal Discontents, might take some advantage from their delay, with more speed hasten the Assassination. In order to which they send a *Serjeant of Arms* with a guard of Horse (lest the People should stone him for his Employment) into *Westminster-Hall*, and other places in *London*, to summon all that could lay any crime to the *King's* charge, to come, and give in their evidence against Him. Having proclaimed their wicked purposes, and dress'd up a *Tribunal* at the upper end of *Westminster-Hall*, with all the shapes
of

of terrour, where the *President* with his abject and bloody Assistants were placed, thither afterwards they bring this most Excellent *Monarch*, whom having despoiled of three Great Kingdoms, they now determined also to deprive of Life.

Into which Scene the *King* enter'd with a generous Miene, shewing no signs of discomposure, nor any thing beneath His former Majesty; but as if He were to combate for Glory the Monsters of Mankind, He undauntedly took the Seat which was set for Him, with scorn looking upon the fictitious Judges, and with pity upon the People, who crouding in (the great Gates of the *Hall* being flung open) did bewail in Him the frailty of our Humane condition, whose highest Greatness hath no Security: A sad Spectacle even to those that were not in danger.

He being set, the Charge against Him was read, with all those reproachful terms of *Tyrant*, *Traitor* and *Murtherer*; after which He was impleaded in the name of the *People of England*. This false Slander of the *People of England* was heard with Impatience and Detestation of all, and stoutly attested against by the Lady *Fairfax*, Wife of the Lord *Fairfax*, who by this act shewed her self worthy of her Extract from the Noble Family of the *Veres*; for from an adjoining Scaffold where she stood, she

she cryed out with a loud voice (but not without danger) that *It was a Lie, not the Tenth part of the People were guilty of such a Crime, but all was done by the Machinations of that Traitor Cromwell.*

But the *King* after the Charge was read, with a countenance full of Majesty and Gravity, demands by what Authority they proceeded with Him thus contrary to the Publick Faith, and what Law they had to try Him that was an absolute Sovereign. *Bradshaw* replying, that of the Parliament; His Majesty shewed the detestable Falshood in pretending to what they had not, and if they had it, yet it could not justifie these Practices. To which reply when they could not answer, they force Him back to the place of His Captivity.

The Magnanimity of the *King* in this dayes contest with these inhumane Butchers, did much satisfie the People, and they were glad (while they thought not of His Danger) that He wanted not either Speech or Courage against so powerfull Enemies; that He had spoken nothing unworthy of Himself, and had preserved the Fame of His Vertues even in so great Adversities. For He seemed to triumph over their Fortune whose Arms He was now subject to. The Parricides sought to break His Spirit by making His appearances frequent before such contemptible Judges, and often exposing Him
O to

to the contempt of the armed Rabble ; therefore four dayes they torture Him with the Impudence and Reproaches of their Infamous Solicitor and President. But He still refused to own their Authority, which they could not prove lawful, and so excellently demonstrated their abominable Impiety, that He made Col. *Downes*, one of their Court, to boggle at, and disturb their Proceedings. They therefore at last proceeded to take away that Life which was not to be separated from Conscience and Honour, and pronounced their Sentence of Death upon their Lawful and Just Sovereign, *Jan. 27.* not suffering Him to speak after the Decree of their Villany, but hurrying Him back to the place of His Restraint.

At His departure He was exposed to all the Insolencies and Indignities that a phanatick and base Rabble, instigated by *Peters* and other *Instructors of Villany*, could invent and commit. And He suffer'd many things so conformable to *Christ His King*, as did alleviate the sense of them in Him, and also instruct Him to a correspondent Patience and Charity. When the barbarous Souldiers cryed out at His departure, *Justice, Justice, Execution, Execution*, as those deceived *Jews* did once to their KING, *Crucifie Him, Crucifie Him* ; this Prince, in imitation of that most *Holy King*, pitied their blind fury, and said, *Poor Souls ! for a piece of Money they would do as much for their Commanders.*

As

As He passed along, some in defiance spit upon His Garments, and one or two (as it was reported by an Officer of theirs, who was one of their Court, and praised it as an evidence of His Souldiers Gallantry, while others were stupefied with their prodigious baseness) polluted His Majestick Countenance with their unclean spittle : the *Good King*, reflecting on His great *Exemplar* and Master, wiped it off, saying, *My Saviour suffer'd far more than this for me.* Into his very face they blowed their stinking Tobacco, which they knew was very distastefull to Him ; and in the way where He was to go, just at His feet, they flung down pieces of their nasty pipes. And as they had devested themselves of all humanity, so were they impatient and furious if any one shewed Reverence or Pity to Him as He passed. (For *no honest Spirit could be so forgetful of humane frailty, as not to be troubled at such a sight ; to see a Great and Just King, the rightful Lord of three flourishing Kingdoms, now forced from His Throne, and led captive through the streets.*) Such as pull'd off their Hats, or bowed to Him, they beat with their Fists and Weapons, and knock'd down one dead but for crying out, *God be mercifull unto Him.*

When they had brought Him to His Chamber, even there they suffered Him not to rest, but thrusting in and smoaking their filthy Tobacco, they permitted Him no privacy to Prayer
O 2 and

and *Meditation*. Thus through variety of Tortures did the *King* pass this day, and by His Patience wearied His Tormentors : nothing unworthy His former greatness of Fortune and Mind by all these Affronts was extorted from Him, though *Indignities and Injuries are unusual to Princes*, and these were such as might have forced passion from the best-tempered meekness, had it not been strengthened with assistance from Heaven. In the Evening the *Conspirators* were acquainted by a Member of the Army, of the *King's* desire, that seeing His death was nigh, it might be permitted Him to see His *Children*, and to receive the *Sacrament*, and that Doctor *Juxon*, then Lord *Bishop of London*, (now *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*) might be admitted to pray with Him in His private Chamber. The first they did not scruple at, the Children in their power being but two, the Lady *Elizabeth* and the *Duke of Gloucester*, and they very young. The second they did not readily grant. Some would have had *Peters* to undertake that employment for which the Bishop was sent for : But he declined it with some Scoffs, as knowing that the *King* hated the Offices of such an unhallowed Buffoon. So that at last they permitted the Bishops access to the *King*, to whom his eminent Integrity had made him dear. For with so wonderful a prudence and uprightness he had managed the envious Office of the *Treasury*, that that accusing age, especially of *Church-men*, found not matter for any

any impeachment, nor ground for the least reproach.

The next day being *Sunday*, the *King* was removed to *St. James's*, where the *Bishop of London* read Divine Service, and preached before Him in private on these words, *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ according to my Gospel.* While the *King* and the *Bishop* at this time, and also at other times, were performing the *Divine Service*, the rude Souldiers often rushed in, and disturbed their *Offices* with vulgar and base Scoffs, vain and frivolous Questions. The Commanders likewise, and other impertinent *Anabaptists* did interrupt His Meditations, who came to tempt and try Him, and provoke Him to some unnecessary disputations. But He maintained His own Cause with so irrefragable Arguments, that He put some to silence, the petulancy of others He neglected, and with a modest contempt dissembled their Scoffs and Reproaches. In the narrow space of this one day, and under so continued Affronts and Disturbances, the *King* (whose whole Soul was totally composed to Religion,) applyed Himself, as much as was possible, to the Reading Holy Scriptures, to Prayer, Confession of Sins, Supplications for the forgiveness of His Enemies, the receiving the Eucharist, holy Conferences, and all the Offices of Piety : so under the utmost Malice and Hatred of men, He laboured for the Mercy of God,

and to fit Himself for His last victory over Death.

While the *King* thus spent this day, the *Ministers* in the several Churches in *London*, and in those parts of the Kingdom where His danger was known, were very earnest in their Prayers to God for His Deliverance and Spiritual Assistance. “Some of them in their Sermons declared the horror of that sin that was about to be committed, detested the Impiety of the Parricides, and denounced the heavy Judgements which such a sinfull Nation polluted with their Prince’s blood were to expect. The *Congregations* were dissolved into Tears. Some bewailed the sad Condition of the *King*, as the effect of the Sins of the Nation. Others cursed their damnable Credulity of the Slanders of that Just Man, and the promises of Liberty by their Impostors. And another sort wept, because their Fears did prognosticate those Miseries which the Issue of His blood would let in upon them. And every one found matter of grief, fear, and indignation in the loss of so Excellent a Prince. All countenances were full of sadness and astonishment, there was no Tumults nor any Quiet, every one listening and hearkning, either as impatient to know the greatness of their Misery, or greedy to receive some hopes of Comfort in their Sovereign’s Safety; otherwise there was a stilness like

“like that which too strong Passions effect, and
 “might be thought a Stupidity rather than a
 “Calmness.

The next day, being *Jan. 29.* the *King* was permitted the sight of His Children. His conference and words with them was taken in writing and communicated to the World by the Lady *Elizabeth* His Daughter, a Lady of most eminent Endowments; who though born in the supremest Fortune, yet lived in continual Tears, the passages of her Life being spent in beholding the Ruines of her Family, and the Murther of her dear Father, whom she not long survived, but died in that Confinement to which they had cheated His Majesty, in *Carisbrook Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*.

While these things were done in publick, the *Conspirators* meet in private in a Committee, to appoint every one their part in this Tragedy, determine what Gestures they were to affect, what Words they were to use, as also for the manner, place and time of the *Murther*. In which Consultations, both now and before the Sentence, each one, according to the bloodiness of his temperament, or servilely to flatter *Cromwell*, by their Cruelty to Him that did obstruct his Ambition, did propose several wayes either of contempt or hatred in killing their sentenced, yet anointed, *Sovereign*. Some would have His Head and Quarters fastned upon Poles (as

it is usual with Traitors) that the marks of their Cruelty might out-last His Death. Others would have Him hanged, as they punished Thieves and Murtherers. Others gave their Vote that He should suffer in His Royal Habilliments with His Crown, and in His Robes, that it might be a Triumph of the Peoples power over *Kings*.

At last they think it sufficient that He should lose His Head by the stroak of an Axe on a Scaffold near *White-Hall* Gates before the *Banqueting-House*, that so from thence where He used to sit on His Throne, and shew the Splendour of Majesty, He might pass to His Grave; there parting with the Ensigns of Royalty, and laying them down as Spoils, where He had before used them as the Ornaments of Empire. Thus did they endeavour to make their Malice Ingenious, and provided Triumphs for their revenge. And because they suspected, or were informed, that as the *King* had not owned their Authority, so He would not submit to their Execution, nor willingly stoop to the Block, they caused to be fastned in it some Iron Staples and Rings, that by them with Cords they might draw Him down, if He would not comply. But His prudent Meekness prevented this Inhumanity; and He died disowning their Authority, though He could not escape their Power.

In the midst of these Preparations, they cause
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some Souldiers to offer to His *Majesty* certain Articles and Conditions, to which if He would subscribe, they promise Life, and the continuance of a precarious Empire: either out of a Terrour and Fear of the consequents of their Impieties; for the confidence of contriving great Crimes is often turned into a sollicitude when they come to be acted: or out of Design to ruine His Conscience and Honour, together with His mortal Life, if He should consent. But when one or two of them had been read to Him, He refused to hear any more, saying, *I will suffer a thousand deaths ere I will so prostitute my Honour, or betray the Liberties of my People.* Thus mindful of Justice, He would not deface the Splendor of His former Vertues with a too impotent desire of Life.

At last that Fatal Day, *Jan. 30.* approached: and that morning, a little before His Death, the Conspirators ordered some of their *Ministers*, viz. *Marshal, Nye, Caryl, Salway and Dell*, to pray with Him, as they said, in order to His passage out of this Life; but when these sent to let Him know the end of their coming, He returned answer that *He was busie*: they sent a second time, and He replied that *He was at His Devotions*: they importunately sent a third time, and my Lord of *London* then desiring to know what answer he should give to satisfie them; His Majesty then as unconcerned in their Ministry said, *My Lord, you may give them what*

what answer you please, but I am resolved, that they who have so often and so causelessly prayed against Me, shall not in this My Agony pray with Me, they may pray for Me if they please. Therefore the King arming Himself with His own Devotions in the Offices of the Church of *England*, in them found an unexpected Comfort; for the Gospel for that Day being the History of the Passion of our Saviour, did by that Example strengthen the King to follow *Jesus*, and to take up His Cross; and His Majesty was thankful for that Pattern. Being thus confirmed by the Blood (for He took the Sacrament that Morning) and sufferings of His LORD (whose Vicegerent He was) together with His own Innocency, against the Terrors of Death, He was brought from St. *James's* through the Park to *White-Hall*, walking very fast, and with as chearful a Countenance as if He were going to Hunting, (a Recreation He was much pleased with,) often advising His slow Guards to move faster, adding, *I now go before you to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with less sollicitude than I formerly have led My Souldiers for an Earthly Diadem.* And being come to the end of the Park, He with much Alacrity went up the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in *White-Hall*, and so into the *Cabinet-Chamber*, where He continued some time in Devotion, while they were fitting the Theatre of His Murther.

While

While these things were acting, the Lord *Fairfax*, who had alwayes forbore any publick appearance in the practices of this Murther, had taken up (as is credibly reported) some Resolutions, (either in abhorrency of the Crime, or by the Solicitations of others) with his own Regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the Execution. This being suspected or known, *Cromwell*, *Ireton* and *Harrison* coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to perswade him, that the LORD *had rejected the King*, and with such like Language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning signed the Warrant for the Assassination; they also desired him *with them to seek the LORD by Prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing*. Which he assenting to, *Harrison* was appointed for the Duty, and by compact to draw out his profane and blasphemous Discourse to God in such a length as might give time for the Execution, which they privately sent to their Instruments to hasten; of which when they had notice that it was past, they rose up, and perswaded the General that this was a full return of Prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure they were to acquiesce in it. There was likewise another attempt made by Col. *Downes*, who had disturbed them in their Court, to obstruct them in their Execution; for it is said, that he endeavoured
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to make a Mutiny in the Army to hinder the Wickedness, but the hast of the Assassins prevented him.

While these men acted their Wickedness by Prayers, to the lasting reproach of Christianity, the *King*, after He had finished His Supplications, was through the *Banqueting-House* brought to the Scaffold, which was dress'd to terrour, for it was all hung with Black, where were attending two Executioners in Disguises, and the Axe and the Block prepared. But it prevail'd not to affright Him whose Soul was already panting after another Life. And therefore He entred this ignominious and gasty Theatre with the same mind as He used to carry to His Throne, shewing no fear of death, but a Solitude for those that should live after Him. Looking about He saw divers Companies of Horse and Foot so placed on each side of the Street and about the Scaffold, that the People could not come near Him, and those that saw could not be Hearers; therefore omitting that Speech which it was probable He would have spoken to the People, He spoke to the Officers, and those that were then about Him, that which is now printed among His Works.

Having ended His Speech, He declared His Profession of Religion; and while He was preparing for the Block, He expressed what were His Hopes (for all the Righteous have such) in
Death,

Death, saying, *I have a good Cause and a Gracious God on my side; I go from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.* After this composing Himself to an Address to God, having His Eyes and Hands like fore-runners lifted up to Heaven, and expressing some short and private Ejaculations, He kneeled down before the Block as at a Desk of Prayer, and meekly submitted His *Crowned Head* to the pleasure of His God, to be profaned by the *Axe of the disguised Executioner*: which was suddenly severed from His Body by one strong stroke. *So fell CHARLES the First, and with Him expired the Glory and Liberty of Three Nations.*

Thus the *King* finished His Martyrdom, but His Enemies not their Malice, who extended their Cruelty beyond His Life, and abused the Headless Trunk. Some washed their hands in the Royal Blood, others dipt their staves in it; and that they might indulge their insatiate Covetousness as well as their boundless Inhumanity, they sold the chips of the Block, and the sands that were discoloured with His Blood, and exposed His very Hairs to sale: which the Spectators purchased for different uses. Some did it to preserve the Reliques of so Glorious a Prince, whom they so dearly loved. Others hoped that they would be as means of Cure for that disease which our English *Kings* (through the Indulgence of Heaven) by Their touch did usually

usually heal: and it was reported that these Reliques experienced failed not of the effect. And some out of a brutish malice would have them as spoils and trophees of their hatred to their Lawfull Sovereign. *Cromwell*, that he might feed his eyes with Cruelty, and satisfie his solicitous Ambition, which aspired at *Monarchy* when the Lawfull King was destroyed, curiously surveyed the murdered Carcass when it was brought in the Coffin into *White-Hall*, and to assure himself the *King* was quite dead, with his fingers searched the wound, whether the Head were fully severed from the body or no.

Afterwards they delivered the body to be unbowelled to an infamous *Empirick* of the Faction, together with the rude *Chirurgions* of the Army (not permitting the *King's* own Physicians to this Office) who were all most implacable enemies to His Majesty, and commanded them to search (which was as much as to bid them so report) *whether they could not find in it Symptomes of the French disease, or some evidences of Frigidity, and natural impotency*: that so they might have some colour to slander Him who was eminent for *Chastity*; or to make His Seed infamous. But this wicked design was prevented by a *Physician* of great Integrity and Skill, who intruding himself among them at the Dissection, by his Presence and Authority kept the obsequious Wretches from gratifying their
Opprobrious

Opprobrious Masters. And the same *Physician* also published that Nature had tempered the Royal Body to a longer life than commonly is granted to other men. And as His Soul was fitted by Heroick Vertues to *Eternity*, so His Body by a Temperament almost *ad pondus* made as near an approach to it as the present Condition of Mortality would permit.

Failing in these Opportunities of Calumny, with more Impudence and Rancor they use other ways to make Him odious, and rase the Love of Him out of the People's hearts. They conclude from the outward unhappineffes of His Reign unto an hatred of God against Him; and with the same Confidence as they inrolled themselves in the List of the Saints, and entred their own names in the Book of Life, they blotted His out, and placed Him in some of the dark and comfortless Cells of the damned: and they commonly professed it among the Disciples of the Faction as an Article of their belief, that it was impossible for Him or any of His party to be saved.

Not content with these Injuries to His Body and Soul, they endeavour likewise to murder His *Memory*. For they pull'd down His *Statue* which was placed at the West end of *St. Paul's Church*, and that other in the *Old Exchange*, and leaving the Arch void, they writ over, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*. But the Providence
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of God hath shewed them to be not only deceivers, but also deceived. For that Just Prince hath of His own Seed to sit upon His Throne. And Posterity shall wonder at the Vanity as well as the Falseness of those men, that they should think to destroy the Memory of that Prince whose true and lasting Glory consisted not in any thing wherein it was possible for Successors to shew the Power of their Malice, but in *a solid Vertue, which flourisheth by Age, and whose Fame gathers strength from multitude of Tears, when Statues and Monuments are obnoxious to the flames of a Violent Envy, and the Ruines of Time.*

Besides this, they take care to suppress all those more Lively figures of Him and most lasting Statues, His Writings, and therefore force from My Lord of *London*, whom they kept prisoner, all those Papers His Majesty had delivered to him, and make a most narrow search of his Cloathes and Cabinets, lest any of those Monuments of Piety and Wisdom should escape to the Benefit of Mankind. Yet by the gracious Goodness of the Almighty God, to their eternal infamy, and for a perpetual Record of the *King's* great Vertues, there escaped their Search, and was published to the World, *The Book of His Meditations and Soliloquies.* In the Composition of which a Sober Reader cannot tell which to admire most, either His incredible Prudence, His ardent Piety, or His Majestick and truly Royal
Style.

style. Those parts of it which consisted of Addresses to God corresponded so nearly in the Occasions, and were so full of the Piety and Elegancy of *David's Psalms*, that they seemed to be dictated by the same Spirit.

His very Assassins confessed the goodness of the Book, though they were ashamed He whom they had murdered should be the Author. For *Bradshaw* in his Examination of *Royston* who Printed it, asked him, *How he could think so bad a man* (for such would that Monster have this Excellent Prince thought to be) *could write so good a Book.* Therefore they laboured by all ways and means to suppress it; as the greatest witness against them to Posterity, and which would make them odious in all Generations. For *the Blood of the Holy, Wise and Eloquent*, leaves eternal stains of Infamy upon those that spill'd it; because no man reads their Works, but they curse those cruel hands which cut the veins and stopp'd the streams of so much Goodness; and we esteem them barbarous and inhumane Monsters who did not Reverence the Persons of those whose Writings we admire.

But their fury became ridiculous, while they thought by their present power to corrupt His Memory, and take off the admiration of the following Ages; for the more they hindred the Publication, the more earnestly it was sought after: yet they endeavoured it another way,

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and therefore hired certain mercenary Souls to despoil the *King* of the Credit of being the Author of it. Especially one base Scribe, naturally fitted to compose Satyres and invent Reproaches, who made himself notorious by some licentious and infamous Pamphlets, and so approved himself as fit for their service. This man they encouraged (by translating him from a needy Pedagogue to the Office of a Secretary) to write that Scandalous Book ΕΙΚΟΝΟΚΛΑΣΗΣ, (an Invective against the *King's* Meditations) and to answer the learned *Salmasius* his Defence of *Charles the First*. But all was in vain, for those that were able to judge of *Styles* found it must be the same Pen which wrought these Meditations, and drew those Letters which the Faction had published for His. Others, that were not able to satisfy themselves by such a Censure, were assured of it by the Relations of Colonel *Hammond* that was His Keeper, who did attest to several Persons that he saw them in the *King's* hand, heard Him read them, and did see Him to correct them in his presence. The Archbishop of *Armagh* did also affirm to those he conversed with, that he was employed by a Command from the *King* to get some of them out of the hands of the Faction, for they were taken in His Cabinet at *Naseby*. And *Royston* that Printed them did testify to those that enquired of him, that the *King* had sent to him the *Michaelmas* before His death; to provide a Press for some Papers He should send to Him, which

which were these, together with a design for a Picture before the Book; which at first was Three Crowns indented on a Wreath of Thorns, but afterwards the *King* recalled that, and sent that other which is now before His Book. Thus these several Testimonies did secure the faith of the World against the Slanderers, and made their endeavours as contemptible as themselves were hatefull.

While the *Parricides* were seeking for fresh Occasions to express their Malice, the whole Kingdom was composed to Mourning and Lamentation; for never any *King*, not only of the *English*, but of whatsoever Throne, had His death lamented with greater Sorrows, nor left the World with a higher regret of the People. When the news of His Death was divulged, Women with Child for grief cast forth the untimely Fruit of their Womb, like Her that fell in Travel when *the Glory was departed from Israel*. Others, both Men and Women, fell into Convulsions and swoounding Fits, and contracted so deep a Melancholy as attended them to the Grave. Some unmindful of themselves, as though they could not, or would not, live when their beloved Prince was slaughtered, (it is reported) suddenly fell down dead. The Pulpits were likewise bedewed with unoborned Tears; and some of those to whom the living *King* was for Episcopacie's sake less acceptable, yet now bewailed the loss of Him

when dead. Children (who usually seem unconcerned in publick Calamities) were also affected with the news, and became so prodigal of their Tears, that for some time they refused comfort; even some of those who sat as Judges could not forbear to mingle some Tears with His Blood when it was split. Many composed Elegies and serious Poems to preserve the memory of His Vertues, to express their own Griefs, and to instruct the Mournings of others; and their Passions made them above their usual Strain more elegant. Many who writ the Acts of His time did vindicate His Honour, and divulged the base Arts of His Enemies, even while their Power was dreadful.

Men of all Sorts, Degrees and Sects (there being none among which He had not some Admirers) then freely and without Envy recounted His several Vertues, which now appeared as great as Mortality refined by Industry was capable of. For *though Prosperity makes the severest tryals of Vertues, yet Adversity renders them most Orient.* As the night best acquaints us with the Splendor of the Stars.

That which first challenged their Wonder, was the Composure and Inclination of His Soul to *Religion*, which He used not as an Artifice of Empire, but as the Ornament and Comfort of a private breast; for He never affected

*His Majesties
Religion.*

affected a Magnifick Piety nor a Pompous Vertue, but laboured to approve Himself in secret to that God who rewardeth openly. All His Offices in this were, like His Fortune, far above those of other men; His Devotion in Prayer was so raised, that His Soul seemed to be wholly swallowed up in the Contemplation of that Majesty He did adore, and as in an Ecstasie to have left His senses without its Adfistency. An instance of this was given at the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the news of whose Murder being whispered to the *King* while He was at Prayers, He took no notice of it (although it was so weighty an Occurrence to have His prime Minister cut off in the busie Preparations for a great Design) till He had finished His Addresses to Heaven, and His Spirit was dismissed from the Throne of Grace to attend the Cares of that on Earth. This was so clear an Evidence of a most fixed Devotion, that those who built their Hopes upon His Reproaches, slanderously imputed it to a secret Pleasure in the fall of him whose Greatness was now terrible to the Family that raised it; which both His Majesties care of the Duke's Children afterwards, as also the Consideration of His Condition, did evince to be false, and that the *King* neither hated him, nor needed to fear him whom He could have ruined with a Frown, and have obliged the People by permitting their fury to pass upon him.

Besides, His Majesty's constant Diligence in
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those Duties did demonstrate, that nothing but a Principle of Holiness, which is alwayes uniform, both moved and assisted Him in those sacred Performances, to which He was observed to go with an exceeding Alacrity as to a ravishing pleasure, from which no lesser Pleasures nor Business were strong enough for a Diversion. In the morning before He went to *Hunting* (His beloved Sport) the Chaplains were before Day call'd to their Ministry : and when He was at *Brainford* among the Noise of Arms, and near the Assaults of His Enemies, He caused the Divine that then waited to perform his accustomed Service, before He provided for Safety, or attempted at Victory ; and would first gain upon the Love of Heaven, and then afterwards repell the Malice of men. Those that were appointed by the Parliament to attend Him in His Restraints wondred at His constant Devotions in His Closet ; and no Artifice of the Army was so likely to abuse Him to a Credulity of their good Intentions, as the Permission of the Ministry of His Chaplains in the Worship of God, a mercy He valued, to some of His Servants, above that of enjoying Wife and Children.

At Sermons He carried Himself with such a Reverence and Attention (that His Enemies which hated, yet did even admire Him in it,) as if He were expecting new Instructions for Government from that God whose Deputy He was, or a new Charter for a larger Empire : and He

was

was so careful not to neglect any of those Exercises, that if on Tuesday mornings, on which Dayes there used to be Sermons at Court, He were at any distance from thence, He would ride hard to be present at the beginnings of them.

When the State of His Soul required, He was as ready to perform those more severe parts of Religion which seem most distastful to Flesh and Blood. And he never refused to take to Himself the shame of those acts wherein He had transgressed, that He might give Glory to His God. For after the Army had forced Him from *Holmeby*, and in their several removes had brought Him to *Latmas*, an house of the Earl of *Devonshire*, on *Aug. 1.* being Sunday, in the morning before Sermon He led forth with Him into the Garden the Reverend Dr. *Sheldon* (who then attended on Him, and whom He was pleased to use as His Confessour) and drawing out of His pocket a Paper, commanded him to read it, transcribe it, and so to deliver it to Him again. This Paper contained several Vows, which He had obliged His Soul unto for the Glory of His Maker, the advance of true Piety, and the emolument of the Church. And among them this was one, that *He would do Publick Penance for the Injustice He had suffered to be done to the Earl of Strafford, His consent to those Injuries that were done to the Church of England* (though at that time He had yielded to no more than the taking away of the High

Commission, and the Bishops power to Vote in Parliament) *and to the Church of Scotland* : and adjured the Doctor, that *if ever he saw Him in a Condition to observe that or any of those Vows, he should solicitously mind Him of the Obligations, as he dreaded the guilt of the breach should lie upon his own Soul.* This voluntary submission to the Laws of Christianity exceeded that so memorable humiliation of the good Emperour *Theodosius*, for he never bewailed the blood of those seven thousand men which in three hours space he caused to be spilt at *Theffalonica*, till the resolution of St. *Ambrose* made him sensible of the Crime. But the Piety of King *Charles* anticipated the severity of a Confessor for those offences to which He had been precipitated by the Violence of others.

This Zeal and Piety proceeded from the Dedication of His whole Soul to the Honour of His God, for *Religion* was as Imperial in the Intellectual as in the Affectionate Faculties of it. The Profession of the Church of *England* was His not so much by Education, as Choice, and He so well understood the Grounds of it, that He valued them above all other Pretensions to Truth, and was able to maintain it against all its Adversaries. His Discourse with *Henderson* shews how just a Reverence He had for the Authority of the Catholick Church, against the Pride and Ignorance of Schismatics; yet not to prostitute His Faith to the Adulterations of the Roman Infalibility and Traditions. Never,

Nevertheless the most violent Slanders the Faction laboured to pollute Him with, were those that rendred Him inclinable to Popery. From which He was so averse, that He could not forbear in His indearments to the *Queen*, (when He committed a secret to Her Breast which He would not trust to any other, and when He admired and applauded Her affectionate Cares for His Honour and Safety) in a Letter, which He thought no Eye but Hers should have perused, to let Her know that He still differ'd from Her in Religion; for He says, *It is the only thing of Difference in Opinion betwixt Us.* Malice made the Slanderers blind, and they published this Letter to the World, than which there could not be a greater Evidence imaginable of the *King's* most secret Thoughts, and Inward Sincerity, nor a more shameful Conviction of their Impudence and damnable Falshood. Nor did He only tell the *Queen* so, but He made Her see it in His Actions. For as soon as His Children were born, it was His first Care to prevent the Satisfaction of their Mother in baptizing them after the Rites of Her own Church. When He was to Die, a time most seasonable to speak Truth, especially by Him who all His Life knew not how to Dissemble, He declares His Profession in Religion to be the same with that which He found left by His Father King *James*.

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How little the Papists credited what the Faction would have the World believe, was too evident by the Conspiracies of their *Fathers* against His Life and Honour, which the Discovery of *Habernesfield* (to whose relations the following practices against Him and the Church of *England* gained a belief) brought to light. They were mingled likewise among the Conspirators, and both heated and directed their Fury against Him. They were as importunate in their Calumnies of Him, even after His Death, as were the vilest of the Sectaries; which they had never done, could they have imagined Him to be theirs; for His Blood would in their Calendar have out-shined the Multitude of their fictitious Saints. For His sake they continued their hatred to His Family, abetted the Usurpations of the following Tyrant, by imposing upon the World new *Rules of Obedience and Government*, invented fresh Calumnies for the Son, and obstructed by various Methods His return to the Principality, because He was Heir as well of the Faith as of the Throne of His Father. Although this Honour is not to be denied to many Gallant Persons of that persuasion, that their Loyalty was not so corrupted by their Faith to *Rome*, but that they laboured to prevent the Father's Overthrow, and to hasten the Son's Restitution.

He was not satisfied in being Religious as a
particular

particular Christian, but would be so as a *King*, and indeavoured that Piety might be as Universal as His Empire. This He assaid by giving Ornaments and Assistances to the External Exercise and Parts of it, (which is the proper Province of a Magistrate, whose Power reaches but to the Outward man) that so carnal minds if they were not brought to an Obedience, might yet to a Reverence, and if men would not honour, yet they should not despise Religion. This He did in taking Care for the Place of Worship, that Comeliness and Decency should be there conspicuous where the God of Order was to be adored. And it was a Royal Undertaking to restore *St. Paul's Church* to its primitive strength, and give it a beauty as magnificent as its Structure. He taught men not to condemn the Dispensers of the Gospel, because He had so great an esteem for them, admitting some to His nearest Confidence and most Private Counsels, as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the greatest Place of Trust, as the Bishop of *London* to the Treasury: consulting at once the Emolument of Religion, whose Dictates are more powerfully impressed when the Minister is honoured by the Magistrate; and the Benefit of the State, which wise Princes had before found none to seek more faithfully, if any did more prudently, than Church-men.

Though a Voluntary Poverty did much contribute to the lustre and increase of the Church
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in the Purer times, yet a necessitated would have destroyed it in a Corrupt age; therefore the *King*, to obstruct all access of Ruine that way, secured her Patrimony, and recovered as much as He could out of the Jaws of Sacrilege, which together with time had devoured a great part of it. His endeavours this way were so strong, that the Faction in *Scotland* found no Artifice able to divert them but by kindling the flame of a Civil War; the Criminals there seeking to adjust their Sacrilegious Acquisitions by Rebellious practices, and to destroy that Church by force which His Majesty would not suffer them to torture with Famine. In *Ireland* the Lord Lieutenant *Wentworth*, by His Command and Instructions, retriued very great Possessions, which the tumults of that Nation had advantaged many greedy Persons to seize upon, and would not suffer Sedition to be encouraged with the hopes of Impiety. In *England* He countenanced those just Pleas which Oppressed Incumbents entred against Rapacious Patrons; and this way many Curates were put into a Condition of giving Hospitality, who before were contemptible in their Ministry, because they were so in their Fortune. His Enemies knew how Inviolable was the Faith of His Majesty in this, and therefore pressed Him with nothing more to obstruct Peace than the Alienation of Church-Lands, rather than which He did abandon His Life, and parted sooner with His Blood than them. He used to say, *Though I am sensible*

sible enough of the Dangers that attend My Care of the Church, yet I am resolved to defend it or make it My Tomb-stone, (alluding to a Story which He would tell of a Generous Captain, that said so of a Castle that was committed to His trust.) He had so perfect a Detestation of that Crime, that it is said He scarce ever mentioned *Henry the 8.* without an Abhorrency of His Sacrilege. He neglected the Advices of His own Party, if they were negligent of the Welfare of the Church.

Those Concessions He had made in *Scotland* to the prejudice of the Church there, were the subject of His grief and penitential Confessions both before God (as appears in His Prayers) and men. For when the Reverend Dr. *Morley*, now Lord Bishop of *Winchester*, (whom He had sent for to the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, where he employed his diligence and prudence to search into the Intrigues and Reserves of the Commissioners) had acquainted Him how the Commissioners were the more pertinacious for the abolishing of Episcopacy here, because His Majesty had consented to it in *Scotland*, and withall told Him what answer he himself had made to them, *That perchance the King was abused to those grants by a misinformation that that Act which was made in King James's Minority against Bishops was yet unrepealed, and that His Concession would but leave them where the Law had;* The King Answered, *It is true,*
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I was told so, but whenever you hear that urged again, give them this answer, and say, that you had it from the King Himself; That when I did that in Scotland, I sinned against My Conscience, and that I have often repented of it, and hope that God hath forgiven Me that great Sin, and by God's grace for no Consideration in the World will I ever do so again.

He was careful of Uniformity, both because He knew the Power of Just and Lawful Princes consisted in the Union of their Subjects, who never are cemented stronger than by a Unity in Religion; but Tyrants, who measure their greatness by the weakness of their Vassals, work that most effectually by caressing Schisms, and giving a Licence to different Perswasions (as the Usurpers afterwards did :) Besides, He saw *there was no greater Impediment to a sincere Piety, because that Time and those Parts which might improve Godliness to a Growth, were all Wasted and Corrupted in Malice and Slanders betwixt the Dissenters about forms.* He was more tender in preserving the Truths of Christianity than the Rights of His Throne. For when the Commissioners of the Two Houses in the *Isle of Wight* importunately pressed Him for a Confirmation of the *Lesser Catechism* which the *Assembly at Westminster* had composed, and used this motive, because it was a small matter; He answered, *Though it seem to you a small thing, it is not so to Me: I had rather give you one of the Flowers*

Flowers of My Crown, than permit your Children to be corrupted in the least point of their Religion. Thus though He could not infuse Spiritual Graces into the minds of His Subjects, yet He would manage their Reason by Pious Arts; and what the *Example of a King (which through the Corruptions of men is more efficacious to Impiety than to Vertue)* could not do, that His Law should, and He would restrain those Vices which He could not extirpate.

Religion was never used by Him to veil Injustice; for this was peculiar to His Adversaries, who when they were *His Ju-* plotting such acts as Hell would blush *Justice.* at, they would fawn and smile on Heaven; and they used it as those subtle Surprisers in War, who wear their Enemies Colours till they be admitted to butcher them within their own Fortresses. But His Majesty consulted the Peace of His Conscience not only in Piety to God, but also in *Justice* to Men. He was, as a *Magistrate should be, a speaking Law.* It was His usual saying, *Let Me stand or fall by My own Counsels.* *I will ever, with Job, rather chuse Misery than Sin.* He first submitted His Counsels to the Censure of the Lawyers before they were brought forth to Execution. Those Acts of which the Faction made most noise, were delivered by the Judges to be within the Sphere of the Prerogative. The causes of the Revenue were as freely debated as private Pleas,

Pleas, and sometimes decreed to be not good; which can never happen under a bad Prince. The Justice of His Times shewed that of His Breast, wherein the Laws were feared and not Men. None were forced to purchase their Liberty with the diminution of their Estates, or the loss of their Credit. Every one had both security and safety for His Life, Fortune, and Dignity; and it was not then thought, as afterwards, to be a part of Wisdom to provide against Dangers by obscurity and Privacies. His Favours in bestowing Great Offices never secured the Receivers from the force of the Law, but Equity overcame His Indulgences. For He knew that *Unjust Princes become Odious to them that made them so*. He submitted the Lord Keeper *Coventrey* to an Examination when a querulous person had accused him of Bribery. He sharply reprov'd one whom He had made Lord Treasurer, when he was petitioned against by an *Hampshire* Knight, on whose Estate, being held by Lease from the Crown, that Treasurer had a design; and He secured the Petitioner in his Right. The greatest Officer of His Court did not dare to do any the least of those injuries which the most Contemptible Member of the House of Commons would with a daily Insolency act upon His weaker Neighbour. In the Civil Discords He bewailed nothing more, than that the Sword of Justice could not correct the illegal Furies of that of War. Though by His Concessions and Grants He diminished His Power,

Power, yet He thought it a Compensation, to let the World see He was willing to make it impossible for Monarchy to have an unjust Instrument, and to secure Posterity from Evil Kings. Although He proved to a Leading Lord of the Faction, *That a People being too cautious to bind their King by Laws from doing Ill, do likewise fetter Him from doing Good, and their fears of Mischief do destroy their hopes of Benefit. And that such is the weakness of Humanity, that he which is intrusted only to Good, may pervert that Power to the extremest Ills.* And indeed there is no security for a Community to feel nothing in Government besides the Advantages of it, but in the Benignity of Providence, and the Justice of the Prince, both which we enjoyed while we enjoyed Him.

Though He was thus in Love with Justice, yet He suffered not that to lessen His Nature to Severity and Rigour, but *His Clemency.* when His Goodness could possibly find out such an Interpretation for the Offence, that it struck more at His Peculiar than the Publick Interest. He seemed almost stupid in the Opinion of Cholerick Spirits as to a sense of His own Injuries, when there was no fear lest His Mercy should thereby increase the Miseries of His People. And He was so ambitious of the Glory of Moderation, that He would acquire it in despite of the Malignity of the times.

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For the Exercise of this Vertue depends not only on the temper of the Prince, but the frame of the People must contribute to it ; because when the Reverence of Majesty and fear of the Laws are proscribed, sharper Methods are required to form Obedience. Yet He was unwilling to cut off, till He had tryed by Mercy to amend, even guilty Souls. Thus He strove to oblige the Lord *Balmerino* to peaceful practices, by continuing that Life which had been employed in Sedition, and forfeited to the Law.

Soon after His coming into the Isle of *Wight* (by which time He had experienced the numerous Frauds and implacable Malice of His Enemies) being attended on by Dr. *Sheldon* and Dr. *Hammond* (for they were the earliest in their Duties at that time) a Discourse passed betwixt His Majesty and the Governour, wherein there was mention made of the fears of the Faction that the King could never forgive them. To which the King immediately replies, *I tell thee, Governour, I can forgive them with as good an appetite as ever I eat My Dinner after an hunting, and that I assure you was not a small one ; yet I will not make My self a better Christian than I am, for I think if they were Kings I could not do it so easily.* This shewed how prone His Soul was to Mercy, and found not any obstruction but what arose from a sense of Royal Magnanimity.

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He sooner offered and gave life to His captive Enemies than their Spirits debauched by Rebellion would require it, and He was sparing of that blood of which their fury made them Prodigal. No man fell in battel whom He could save. He chose rather to enjoy any Victory by Peace (and therefore continually solicited for it when He seemed least to need it) than make one triumph a step to another; and though He was passionate to put all in Safety, yet He affected rather to end the War by Treaty than by Conquest. The Prisoners He took He used like deluded men, and ofner remembred that God had made them His Subjects, than that the Faction had transformed them to Rebels. He provided for them while in His Power, and not to let them languish in Prison, sent them by Passes to their own homes, only ingaging them by Oath to no more injuries against that Sovereign whom they had felt to be Gracious: for so He used those that were taken at *Brainford*. But yet the Casuists of the Cause would soon dispense with their Faith, and send them forth to die in contracting a new guilt. Those whom the fury of War had left gasping in the Field; and fainting under their wounds, He commends in His Warrants, (as in that to the Major of *Newbury*) to the care of the Neighbourhood, either tenderly to recover, or decently bury: and His Commands were as well for those that sought to murder Him as those that were wounded in His Defence.

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This made the Impudence and Falshood of *Bradshaw* more portentous, when in his Speech of the Assassination He belch'd out those Comparisons of *Caligula* and *Nero* : the first would kill numbers of Senators to make himself Sport, and the last thought it just enough that *Patus Thraseas* should die, because he look'd like a School-master. But this *Prince's* Anger was without Danger to any, His Admonitions were frequent, Corrections seldom, but Révenge never. He grieved when His Pity had not Power or Skill to save Offenders, and then He punished the bad, but yet gave them space to repent, and make their Execution as near as He could like a natural Death, to translate them from hence to a place where they could not Sin. He had nothing of the *Beast* in Him, which *Machiavel* requires in such Princes as make Success the only end of their Counsels, and consult a prosperous Grandeur more than an unspotted Conscience. He scorned to abuse the Character of God upon Him by turning a *Fox* to dissemble, and abhorred to think that He whom Heaven had made above other men should degenerate to the Cruelty of a *Lion*. He sooner parted with Mortality than Mercy ; for He ended His dayes with a Prayer for His Enemies, and laboured to make His Clemency immortal, by commanding the practice of it to His Son.

None of His Vertues were in the Confines of
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Vice, and therefore this Admirable Clemency proceeded not from a defect of Spirit, as His Detractors imputed it, *His Fortitude*, and the *Vulgar*, who *mistake Cruelty for Valour*, imagined; but like the Bowels of the Supreme Mercy which are incircled with an Infinite Power, so this Pity to guilty and frail men was attended with an Incomparable *Fortitude*. For this Vertue consisting in despising Dangers and Enemies in those Causes that render Death comely and glorious, the *King* gave several Evidences of a Contempt of all Power beneath that of Heaven. When the Lord *Rey* first acquainted Him with the Conspiracy of *Ramsay* and *Hamilton*, He was upon a Remove to *Theobalds*, where the Marquess was to wait upon Him as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; who having some notice given him of the Discovery, besought His Majesty to spare his attendance till he could clear his innocence, and return the Treason upon the Accuser. The *King* answered, that He would therefore make him *wait, to let him see He did as little fear his strength as distrust his Loyalty; for He knew he durst not attempt His Life because He was resolved to sell it so dear*. And to make good His Confidence, He made him ride alone with Him in His Coach to *Theobalds*, and lie in His Chamber that Night: while the solicitous Court admired, and even censured, His Magnanimity, for it went beyond His pattern, and did more than that Emperour who was styled

led the *Delight of Mankind*, who being informed of a Conspiracy against him, invited the two Chiefs of it to accompany him to the *Spēta-cula*, and caused them both to sit next on each side to him in the Theatre; and to give them more advantage for their design, put the swords of the *Gladiators* (under colour of enquiring their judgements concerning their sharpness) into their hands, to shew how little dread he had of their fury. But the *British* Prince's Magnanimity exceeded that of the Excellent *Roman's*, as much as the privacies of a Bed-chamber, and the darkness of Night make up a fitter Scene for the Assassination of a beloved Sovereign than a publick Theatre.

As He never provoked War, so He never feared it; and when the miserable Necessity lay upon Him to take up Arms to preserve Himself from an unjust Violence, He shewed as much if not more Valour than those can boast of that with equal force finished Wars with Conquest: in the success of these, Fortune, the Vanity of an Enemy, and the assistances of Friends may challenge a part of the Praise, but in that none but His own brave Soul had the Glory. For to attempt at Victory against an Enemy that had almost more Forts and Garrisons than He had Families to joyn with Him, that with Cannon out-vied the Number of His Muskets, that had gotten from Him a Navy which His Care had made the most formidable in the World, and not

not left Him the command of a Cock-boat, that were prodigal with the Treasure of a Nation and His Revenues, when He begged for a subsistence; was such a Courage that would have made that *Senate* of Gallant Persons, who were the most competent Judges of Valour, and never censured Vertue by the Success, but thanked their Imprudent *Consul* for not despairing of the Commonwealth, when he gathered up those broken Legions which his Rashness had obtruded to an Overthrow, to have decreed a Triumph for *CHARLES*, had His life been an Honour to that Age, or could those Generations have reckoned Him among their great Examples. Most men indeed thought the *King's* side most glorious, yet they concluded the other more terrible: those that minded their Duty were in the Royal Camp, but such as cared for Safety took part with the Faction, or at least did not oppose them. As He first entred the War, so did He continue in it. His Moderation alwayes moved Him to desire Peace, and His Fortitude made them sometimes sue for it. His Adversaries never prevailed upon His Fears, but upon the Treachery and Covetousness of some of His Party, who could not endure an Honourable Want: and on such their Gold was stronger than their Iron on Him, and He was rather Betrayed than Overcome.

His Greatness of Mind forsook Him not with His Fortune, Arms and Liberty, it being Natu-

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ral, and not built upon them; this made Him tenacious of Majesty when His Power was gone. For when *Whaley*, that had the Command of the Guards upon Him while He was in the Army, insolently intruded into His Presence to hear His Discourse with a Foreign Minister of State, and being bold in his Power and Office, refused to obey the Command for a greater Distance, the *King* caned him to an Observance. When the Parricides sent their party of Soldiers to force Him from the *Isle of Wight* to the Slaughter, *Cobbet* that commanded them thrust himself into the Coach with Him: but the *King* sensible that the nearness of such a Villain was like a Contagion to Majesty, with His Hand forced him away to herd among his bloody fellows. His Spirit alwayes kept above the barbarous Malice of His Enemies, and of their rudest Injuries would seem unsensible. He told a faithful Servant of His, that the Conspirators had kept Him for two Moneths under a want of Linen and Shirts: *But* (said He) *I scorned to give them that pleasure as to tell them I wanted.* Thus all the strokes of Fortune upon His Magnanimous Soul were but like the breaking of Waves upon a Rock of Diamonds, which cannot shake, but only wash it to a greater Brightness.

His Patience.

But though He knew not how to submit to the Power of Men, yet He would tremble under the Frowns of God,

God. His great Spirit made Him not unquiet or furious under the Corrections of the Almighty : But with a wonderful *Patience* (*a Vertue not usual with Kings, to whom the bounds of Equity seem a restraint, and therefore are more restless in Injuries*) He did submit to the Will of His eternal Sovereign. He never murmured nor repined at that Providence which had given Him plenty of tears to drink : But His Meditations still breath the Justice of God and the Holiness of all His wayes with Him. He would take Occasions from displeasing Occurrences to thank God that had fitted Him for the Condition he had brought Him unto. For when He marched after His Carriage in pursuit of *Essex* into the West, one of them broke in a very narrow Lane, which made Him stop till an intolerable Shower of Rain came pouring upon Him ; from which that He might seek for a Shelter in the Neighbouring Village, His Courtiers offered to hew Him out a way through the Hedge with their Swords, but He refused : and when they wondred at it, He lifting up His hat and Eyes to worship the Fountain of All Grace, said, *As God hath given me Afflictions to exercise My Patience, so He hath given me Patience to bear My Afflictions.* The Indignity He received from *Hotham* provoked no Curse from Him, nor could the Injuries from *Scotch* and *English* move Him to any thing more than Prayers for God's sanctifying them to Him. He wanted not Temptations to Passion from His own Party ; for in
a Letter

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a Letter to the *Queen*, He tells Her that She could not but Pity Him in His Condition as to them : yet He so managed their several Humours, and so cherished their Expectations with Patience and Meekness, that they quietly waited for a return of His Fortune.

When He was in His Captivity at *Carisbrook* under the strictest Restraint, those that attended Him never almost observed Him but chearfull and pleasant in His Discourses, and sometimes breaking out into pleasing Reparties and Jest. When in the Treaty at *Newport*, (where He had occasions of Passion daily administred by the Perverseness to Peace of the Party He was to deal with) one of the Commissioners was importunate with Him for more Concessions, and minded Him of His saying, *That if there were another Treaty, it should not lie in the power of the Devil's Malice to hinder Peace*: the King answered, *It would be so when there was a Treaty, but as for this it could not be thought a Treaty, but He was like the man in the Play, that cryed out he had been in a Fray, and when they asked him what Fray, he replied there was a Fray and no Fray, for there were but three blows given, and he took them all: So this is a Treaty and not a Treaty, for there be many Concessions, but I have made them all.* Another time, when He met one of the Presbyterian Ministers near His Chamber enquiring for Captain *Titus*, (who then waited on Him, and had

had been faithful to Him in that Service) the King told him, *He wondred he would have any more to do either with Titus or Timothy, since he fared so ill in medling with them in his Disputes about Episcopacy the day before.* These shewed how free His Soul was, and uncontrolled in the greatest and most displeasing perplexities.

He would never take any indirect courses to avoid the Cross, nay, He scrupled at such expedients as some deemed most conducing to His great end. For at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight there being offered to Him an expedient, to secure His Conscience and satisfie the Commissioners in the Propositions about the Church, and it being urged by a great and faithful Counsellour, that He must grant what possibly He could to preserve His own Life for the good of the Church, for (it was said) her safety depended on His; with a present and pious indignation He replyed, *Tell not Me what I should do for saving of My Life, but what I may do with a safe Conscience : God forbid that the Life or Safety of the Church should depend upon My Life, or upon the Life of any mortal man; and I thank God I have a Son whom I have reason to believe will love the Church as well as I do.* Another time, a little after the Treaty was ended, Dr. Morley shewing to Him a billet he had received by the Lady Wheeler the King's Laundress (who often conveyed much

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much Intelligence) from an Officer of the Army, that the King's Death was resolved on; His Majesty answered, *I have done what I can to save My Life without losing of my Soul. I can do, I will do no more : God's will be done.*

In the Pomp of His Murther, wherein He was made a Spectacle to the World, Angels and Men, no Tryals were ever greater, nor ever were any better born : the Parricides found it was easie to take away His Life, but impossible His Honour and Patience; His Passions being then so low and quiet, that the natural Infirmitie of His Speech did not in the least measure appear, which uses to be most evident in the smallest discomposure of the Spirit. After the Regicides had passed their Decree for His Assassination, and caused Him to be persecuted with all the Indignities of the fanatick Souldiers, there fell from Him nothing like Passion or Indignation, but that He gave the Authors of those Impieties the title that was due to them: for when my Lord of *London* came to Him, (which was not till eight a Clock on Saturday Night,) He told him, *My Lord, that you came no sooner I believe was not your fault; but now you are come, because these Rogues pursue My Blood, you and I must consult how I may best part with it.* Yet even this was spoken without any Fury or Violence; for though all about Him was tumultuous with Horror, Destruction and Contempt, His Soul seemed unconcerned,

concerned, enjoyed a Calm Serenity, and was full of its own Majesty. This Vertue made Him forget He was a *Prince* born to Command, and only consider that He was a Christian whose Calling obliges to Suffer.

He had found out a way to Glory by *Humility*. For the *supreme Power*, to which nothing can be added, hath His Humility. *no better way to encrease, than when* *lity*. *secured of its own Greatness it humbleth it self.* And the *Dignity of Princes is in nothing farther from Envy and Danger than in Humility*. He despised the converse of none, though poor, if honest : He shewed to Sir *Philip Warwick* (who had much of His Trust and Affections) in the *Isle of Wight*, a poor ragged Old Man, and told him *he was a very honest fellow, and had been His best Company for two moneths together*. He would have those about Him converse rather with Himself than with His Majesty, and with them would He mingle Discourses as One of the People : none made an end of speaking till His own Modesty, not Pride in the *King*, thought it was enough : and He never did contradict any man without this mollifying Preface, *By your favour, Sir*. His discourse as it was familiar, so it was directed to raise those that heard it to a nearer approach to Himself by perfection ; for He did not proudly scoff at, but gently laboured to mend the defects of His Subjects. When Doctor *Hammond*

mond had in some degree lost the Manage of His Voice, His Majesty shewed him his Infirmitie, and taught him to amend it; which that Excellent Person often mentioned as an instance of a Gracious Condescension of Majesty. When Noble Youths came to take their leaves of Him before they went to foreign travel, He would not let them go without His Instructions, of which this was one, *My Lord, Keep alwayes the best Company, and be sure never to be Idle.* Thus He would confer the Vertues as well as the Titles of Nobility, He laboured to keep them as Majesty had made them, and that that blood might not be tainted in them which was honoured in their Ancestors. Nor did He desire that they should be otherwise than He directed, as *Tyrants and weak Princes will commend those Vertues which they are afraid of, for they dread or envy their Subjects Parts and Abilities.* Aristotle observes that a *Tyrant* cares not to hear his Vassals speak any thing that is either Grave or Generous; and it is reckoned among the Usurpations of such Monsters, that they would have the opinion to be the Only *Wise* and *Gal-lant*. Plato indangered his Life when he conversed with the *Sicilian* Tyrant, because he was thought to understand more than his Host. It was observed of *Cromwell*, (by one of his confident Teachers) that in the time of his Tyranny he loved no man that spoke Sense, and had several Artifices to disparage it among his Slaves that attended him; and he would highly extol those

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those Pulpit-Speakers that had most Canting and least Reason. But the *King* thought it the Honour of Principality to rule over Excellent Persons, and affected to be Great only by being Better; and to raise their Spirits would stoop with His own.

Of these He always chose the most accomplished that He knew, to be His Ministers of State and closest *His Choice of* Confidants: for as *the fortune of Ministers of* *Princes stands in need of many State.* *Friends, which are the surest supports of Empire;* so He would alwayes seek the Best, and those He thought fittest for His Employments, which a bad or weak *King* would hate or fear. Therefore He had alwayes the finest Pens and ablest Heads in His Cause, and Persons likewise of Integrity in His Service: for the *Archbishop* and Earl of *Strafford*, that were clamoured against as the greatest Criminals, were not guilty enough, even by those accusations which they were loaded with, and yet not proved, to receive the Censure of the Law, but were to be condemned in an unaccustomed way of spilling *English* blood. When some discovered their Abilities even by opposing His Counsels, He prefer'd the Publick Benefit which might be by their Endowments to His private Injuries; He would either buy them off to His Service by some Place of Trust, or win them to His Friendship; unless He saw them to be such
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whose Natures were corrupted by their Designs, (for He had a most excellent Sagacity in discerning the Spirits of men) or they were such who polluted their parts by prostituting Religion to some base ends (the injuries of which He could never neglect:) and such He neither conceived Honourable in a Court, nor hoped they would ever be faithful and quiet in a Community. Among these Purchases were reckoned the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Lord *Falkland*, and others now living, whose Perfections honoured His Judgement, and justified His Choice.

He had no Favorite, as a Minister of Pleasures, to gratifie whose Lusts and Vanities He might be solicited to do things contrary to the benefit of the Community; but all were Instruments of Government, and must be able to serve the Publick, whom He took to serve Himself. For no Prince was ever more affectionate of His People than He was, nor did He think His Interest separate from theirs. Those nice distinctions, and cautious limits of Prerogative and Liberty which the Faction invented to enjealous the People with, were all indistinctly comprised by Him in an Uniform and Constant care of a just Government: none dared to advise Him to attempt at a power His Predecessors had parted with, or the Laws had concluded Him from. For He told the Lords,
when

*His Affection
to His People.*

when He purged the Earl of *Strafford* from the Accusation of *Sir Henry Vane*, (that he had advised His Majesty to make use of some *Irish* to reduce this Kingdom; on which, though it had but a single and various testimony, the Faction built their Practices against His Life) *I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move Me to it, for if they had, I should have made them such an Example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Posterity should know My Intentions by it. For My Intencion was ever to govern by the Law, and not otherwise.* He thought He could not be happy unless His People were so; as we found our selves miserable when He was not prosperous. Therefore He parted with so much of His Prerogative to buy our Peace, and purchase our Content. He sought their Love by affecting them, the only way of gaining it, because that Passion only is free and impatient of Command. Nor was He ever more pleased than in the enjoyment of it: When His Third Parliament granted five Subsidies, and it was told Him that *there was not One Voice dissenting*, it is said, *He wept for joy*; and it had been happy for the People, if the *King* had alwayes had such cause of Tears, and His Eyes had been alwayes wet with the same.

Contests for Liberty could never have been more unseasonable than under this *Prince*, for He never denied His Subjects the removal of any just Grievance, yea, He parted sometimes,

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through their own importunity deluded by the Faction, with that which should have kept them Free : And when He made such Concessions which tended to the prejudice of those that desired it, He would say to some about Him, that *He would never have granted these things, but that He hoped they would see the Inconvenience of that power which they begg'd from Him, yet themselves could not manage, and return it to its proper place, before it became their Ruine.* He was far from the ambition of *Ill Princes* to seek an unlimited power ; but He thought it *the Office of the best Sovereign to set bounds to Liberty.* He despised His Life if it were to be bought by the Misery of the Nation, and therefore rejected the Propositions of the Army as the Conditions of His Safety, when tendred to Him the day before His Murther, because they would enslave the People. Neither would He expose particular persons to an evident and inevitable danger, though it were to secure Himself : for when my Lord Newburgh and his Noble Lady, at whose house in *Bagshot* He did stay as He was removed from *Carisbrook* to *Windsoer*, proposed to Him a way to escape from that bloody Guard that hurried Him to the Slaughter, He rejected it, saying, *If I should get away, they would cut you in Pieces ;* and therefore would not try their design, though it seemed feasible.

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With these Arts He did seek to oblige the Community ; but the Faction's Slanders hindred the Success : *His Obliging* which they the more easily ob- *Converse.* structed, because the *King* never affected *Popularity*, for that *consists in an industrious pleasing of the People in minute and ordinary Circumstances* ; but He alwayes endeavoured by a solid Vertue their real Happiness, and therefore in confidence of that neglected a specious Compliance with the less beneficial humours of the Vulgar : so that the *Multitude*, who are taken with things of the *lightest consideration*, could not sufficiently value Him, being not able to apprehend His worth : for a *Statist* observes, *Moderate Princes are alwayes admired, but Heroick are never understood.* On particular Persons (if not the sworn Creatures of the Conspirators, and by Treason made inhumane) He seldom failed by conversing to take them. His Trophies in this kind, even when He was despoiled of means to bribe their hopes, were innumerable ; and those that engaged against Him ere they knew Him, after their knowledge of Him did curse their Credulity and their prosperous Arms. A clear instance of this (to mention no more) was in Master *Vines*, one of the Presbyterian Ministers who are conceived to be too tenacious of a prejudice against those that dislike their Government) that were sent to dispute against

Episcopacy : for he admiring the Abilities of the King which He manifested in asserting of it, professed to Master *Burroughs*, (one whose Attendance the King required, and found him faithful to the extremest dangers in those enterprises in which he several times engaged for His Safety,) *how he had been deluded to unworthy thoughts of the King, but was now convinced to an exceeding Reverence of Him, and hoped so of others*; and earnestly solicited those that attended on Him, to use all means to rescue Him from the intended Villany of the Army; saying, *Our Happiness was great in such a Prince; and our Misery in the Loss of Him would be unspeakable*. Yet He never courted, although He won them, but His passage to their hearts was through their brain, and they first Admired and then Loved Him.

As He was powerful to gain, so He was careful to keep Friends. *Fidelity* to the Publick and Private was His chiefest Care; for He knew how *necessary it is for Princes to be faithful, because it is so much their Interest that others should not be false*. Though it is a Mystery of Empire with other Kings to proportion their Faith to their Advantage, yet He abhorred to promise any thing which He could not Religiously observe. Some over-sine *Politici* would have had Him grant all the Desires of the Faction, as the most immediate way to their

their Ruine; for it was supposed they could never agree in dividing the Spoil, and their dissensions would have opened a way for the recovery of His abandoned Rights. But He was so constant in all that was good, that He thought the purchase of Greatness too vile for the breach of His Faith, and He hated those acquisitions which would give Him cause to blush. This Heroick Expression often fell from Him, *Leave me to My Conscience and Honour, and let what will befall Me.* His Enemies knew this so natural, that if they could make their Propositions repugnant to His Conscience, they were sure no Peace should obstruct their Designs. Nay, He was faithful in those Stipulations wherein their first Breach would have justified a departure from His Promise; though He saw this Vertue would be rewarded with His Murther. For when some of His Attendants at *Carisbrook* daily importuned Him to provide for His Safety from the perfidious Violence of the Army, which every day they had informations of, He made this return; *Trouble not your selves, I have the Parliaments Faith and Honour engaged for My remaining here in Honour, Freedom, and Safety, and I will not dishonour My self by Escaping.*

As He was to the Publick so to His Private Obligations. No assaults could take the Duke of *Buckingham* from His Protection: for though His foreign Enterprises required supplies of Money,

ney, and the Faction would not let the Bills for Subsidies pass unless they might be gratified with the Dukes blood, or Degradation from His Trust, the *King* would not buy them with the Life or Dishonour of His Friend. And although he fell afterwards as a Sacrifice to the Common hate, (for so the Assassinate pretended, that he might give a Splendor to his Crime, *It being more specious to revenge the Publick than private Injuries,*) yet was he not the *King's* Offering. In the Case of the Earl of *Strafford* this Honour seemed to be clouded : But Posterity will see that that Noble Person was rather ravished from Him, (on design by his Enemies to rob him of the Glory of Fidelity,) than deserted by Him ; for He never left him till the Earl did abandon himself. And a Penitence for a Submission (not Consent) to the Rape made a Satisfaction for the Offence, and repaired the damage of the Injury. For His Majesties Tears over him will embalm and preserve his name and blood to the honour of Following Ages more than the remnant of his dayes would have administered to his Glory.

It would be an Injury to His other Vertues to mention His *Chastity* and *Temperance*, because it is an Infamy to be otherwise ; unless to let Posterity know, that no injured Husband nor Dishonoured Family conspired to His Ruine, but such who were engaged to Him for preserv-
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ing all their Rights in those Relations unattempted, and securing them by His own example. He witnessed His Conjugal *Chastity* the day before His Death, (a time not to be spent in falsities, which was too little for necessary Preparations to appear before the God of Truth;) when He commanded the Lady *Elizabeth* to tell her Mother, that *His thoughts had never strayed from Her, and His Love should be the same to the Last*. The purity of His Speech likewise testified the Cleanness of His Heart, for He did abhor all Obscene and wanton Discourse. And He was so far from defiling the Beds, that He would not pollute the Ears of His Subjects.

This *Chastity* found no Assaults from Intemperance, for He never fed to Luxury but Health. His strong Constitution required large Meals, but His *His Temperance*. Vertue took care they should not be gluttonous; for He delighted not in Sawces or Artifices to please the Palate and raise the Lust, but all was sincere and solid, and therefore He never was subject to a Surfeit. He alwayes mingled Water with His Wine, which He never drank pure but when He eat Venison; and He was so nice in observing the bounds of *sobriety*, that most times Himself would measure and mingle both together. He did usually at every Meal drink one Glass of Beer, another of Wine, and a third of Water, and seldom
 R 4 drank

drank between His Meals. These though Ordinary Vertues, were yet eminent in Him, since they could not be corrupted by the Power nor the Flatteries of Fortune. And they are therefore mentioned to gratifie Posterity ; for *men are curious to know all, even the minute Passages of Great and Vertuous Persons.*

Being free from Incontinency and Intemperance, the gulphs of Treasure and
His Frugality. Drayners of the Largest Exchequer, He had no other Vice to exhaust the Publick Stock, and so necessitate Him to fill it up by Oppressions, but He would by *Frugality* make His Revenue sufficient for the Majesty of the Crown, and the Necessities of the State. His own Nature indeed inclined Him to Magnificence, but the Vices of others did instruct Him to moderate Expences. For He had found the Treasury low, and the Debts great, in His beginnings : He was assaulted with two expensive Wars from the two great Potentates of *Europe*, and the Faction had obstructed the usual way of Supplies by Parliaments. Therefore He was to find a Mine in Vertue ; and by sparing from Vanities, make provisions for necessary and glorious Enterprises, which He did effect : for in that short time of Peace, which He enjoyed, He satisfied all the Publick Debts, so furnished and increased His Navy, that it was the most considerable in the whole World, supported His Confederate

federate the King of *Sweden*, and by Money enabled him for the Victories of *Germany*, and so fill'd His own Treasury, that it was able of it self to bear the weight of the first *Scotch* Expedition without the Aids of the Subject, who were never more able to contribute to their own safety, nor ever had more reason, the swellings of that Nation breaking all the Banks and Fences of their Liberty and Happiness. But the *King* would let them see that as by His Government He had made them rich, He would also keep them so by His Frugality. But those whose first care was to make Him necessitous, and the next odious, did brand it with the name of Covetousness, which was as False as malicious; For He never spared when Just Designs call'd for Expences, and was magnificent in Noble Undertakings, as in the Repair of *Paul's*. He was alwayes Gratefull, although those men who measured their Services not by their Duties, or their Merits, but by their Expectations from His Fortune, thought Him not Liberal. He chose rather not to burthen His People by Subsidies, than load particular Servants with unequal Bounties. For *Good Princes chuse to be loved rather for their Benefits to the Community than for those to private persons. And it may be Vanity and Ostentation, but not Liberality, when the gifts of the Prince are not proportioned to the Common Necessity.* His sparings were like those of Indulgent Fathers, that His Subjects as Children might

might have the more. He never, like subtle and rapacious Kings, made or pretended a Necessity for Taxes, but was troubled when He found it. The Contributions of Parliament He esteemed not the increase of His peculiar Treasure, but the Provisions for the Common Safety, of which He would rather be accounted a Steward than a Lord. When Faction and Sedition so deluded the People that they could not see the preservation of the whole consisted in contributing some small part, He freely parted with His own Inheritance to preserve intire to them the price of their Sweat and Labour.

As He had these Moral Vertues, which are both the signatures of Majesty, and the Ornaments of a Royal Spirit, so He was no less compleat in the Intellectual. His Understanding was as Comprehensive as His Just Power, and He was Master of more sorts of Knowledge than He was of Nations. How much He knew of the Mysteries and Controversies of Divinity was evident in His Discourses and Papers with *Henderson*, and those at the *Isle of Wight*, where He singly Disputed for *Episcopacy* one whole day against Fifteen Commissioners and their Four Chaplains, (the most experienced and subtle members of all the Opposite Party) with so much Acuteness and Felicity, that even His Opposers admired

admired Him. He so dexterously managed His Discourse with the Ministers, that He made it evident they perswaded Him to that which they themselves judged unlawfull, and had condemned as Sacriledge, when they pretended to satisfie the Scruples of His Conscience, and to assure Him He might safely alienate the Church-Lands. And the Commissioners sensible how unequal their Ministers were to discourse with Him, for ever after silenced them, and permitted no Disputes but by Papers. At that time He exceeded the opinion of His friends about Him. One of them said in astonishment, that *Certainly God had inspired Him.* Another, that *His Majesty was to a Wonder improved by His Privacies and Afflictions.* But a third; that had had the Honour of a nearer Service, assured them that the *King was never less, only He had now the opportunity of appearing in His full Magnitude.*

In the Law of the Land He was as knowing (as Himself said to the Parricides, yet was no boaster of His own Parts) as any Gentleman in *England*, who did not profess the Publick Practice of it : especially those Parts of it which concerned the Commerce between King and People. In that Art which is peculiar to Princes, *Reason of State*, He knew as much as the most prosperous Contemporary Kings, or their most exercised Ministers, yet scorned to follow those Rules of it which
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lead from the Paths of Justice. The Reserves that other Princes used in their Leagues and Contracts, to colour the breaches of Faith, and those inglorious and dark Intrigues of subtle Politicians, He did perfectly abhor: but His Letters, Declarations, Speeches, Meditations, are full of that Political Wisdom which is consistent with Christianity. He had so quick an Insight into these Mysteries, and so early arrived to the Knowledge of it, that when He was young, and had just gotten out of the Court and Power of *Spain*, He censured the weakness of that Mysterious Council. For He was no sooner on Shipboard, but the first words He spake were, *I discovered two Errors in those great Masters of Policy; One that they would use Me so Ill, and another that after such Usage they permitted Me to Depart.*

As those former parts of Knowledge did enable Him to know *Men*, and
His Skill in how to manage their different
all Arts. humours, and to temper them to
 a fitness for Society, and make
 them serviceable to the Glory of that God
 whose Minister He was: so His Soul was stored with a full Knowledge of the Nature of
Things, and easily comprehended almost all
 kinds of Arts that either were for Delight or
 of a Publick Use; for He was ignorant of
 nothing but of what He thought it became
 Him

Him to be negligent, (for many parts of Learning that are for the Ornament of a Private person are beneath the Cares of a Crowned Head.) He was well skilled in things of Antiquity, could judge of Meddals whether they had the number of years they pretended unto; His Libraries and Cabinets were full of those things on which length of Time put the Value of Rarities. In Painting He had so excellent a Fancy, that He would supply the defect of Art in the Workman, and suddenly draw those Lines, give those Airs and Lights, which Experience and Practice had not taught the Painter. He could judge of Fortifications, and censure whether the Cannon were mounted to Execution or no. He had an excellent Skill in Guns, knew all that belonged to their making. The exactest Arts of building Ships for the most necessary uses of strength or good sailing, together with all their furniture, were not unknown to Him. He understood and was pleased with the making of Clocks and Watches. He comprehended the Art of Printing. There was not any one Gentleman of all the three Kingdoms that could compare with Him in an Universality of Knowledge. He encouraged all the Parts of Learning, and He delighted to talk with all kind of Artists, and with so great a Facility did apprehend the Mysteries of their Professions, that He did sometime say, *He thought He could get His Living, if Necessitated, by any Trade He knew of,*
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but making of Hangings : although of these He understood much, and was greatly delighted in them; for He brought some of the most curious Workmen from Foreign Parts to make them here in *England*.

His Writings shew what Notions He had gathered from the whole store of *His Eloquence*. Learning, which He cloathed with a Wonderfull and most charming *Eloquence*. Which was unquestionably so great, that those who endeavoured to despoil Him of His Civil Dominions granted Him a deserved Empire among famous Writers. The Book of His Meditations is alone sufficient to make His Assassins execrable to all that in any Age shall have a sense of Piety, or a love to Wisdom and Eloquence. *For so great an affection in the Breasts of men do excellent Writings acquire for their Authors, that though they may be otherwise blameable, yet their Works render their Memories precious; and the violent Deaths of such increase their Glory, while they load their Murtherers with Ignominy. All men, especially among Posterity, deeming so great Wits could not be cut off but to the Publick Injury, and by Persons brutishly mad, or by some horrid sins debauched to an Enmity with mankind. So that all future times shall admire and applaud His Writings against them, and curse their Injustice to Him.*

His

His Wisdom was not only Speculative in His Writings, but also Practical in His Counsels. None found out better means for accomplishing a

His Political Prudence.

Design, provided safer expedients for the Ressorts of Difficulties, or more clearly foresaw the Event at a Distance; nor were any Counsels so prosperous as His own, when they were vigorously prosecuted by those whom He intrusted with the Execution; and He seldom miscarried but when He inclined to follow the Advices of others; as He did in that inauspicious Attempt to take *Gloucester*, wherein He forsook His own Reasons, which He urged with all possible Evidence of Success, to march towards *London*. He saw into the Intrigues of His Enemies; and had not the Treacheries (which being secret are above the Caution of Humane Nature) of some that followed Him opened to them His Designs, He had (by the Ordinary Course of Providence) covered them with the shame both of Imprudence and Overthrow. Those Miseries that the Faction after they got into Power brought upon the Nation, and the Events of their destructive Enterprises, were discovered and foretold by Him in the very beginnings to the deluded World, who notwithstanding were Fatally blinded to chuse their own Ruine.

Whensoever His Secretaries had drawn up,
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by the Direction of the *Council*, Declarations or any other Papers, and offered them to His perusal, though both they and the Council had done their parts, yet He would alwayes with His own hand correct them both as to Matter and Form; He commonly using these words when He took the Pen in His hand, *Come, I am a good Cobler*: and the Corrections were acknowledged by them all to be both for the greater lustre and advantage of the Writings. His Instructions to His Ambassadors, Commissioners, Deputies, were so full of Wisdom, and such prudent provisions for all the Ressorts of those they were to treat with, that there was nothing to be supplied on their parts to make their Negotiations happy, but seasonable Applications, or a fortune to deal with reasonable men. It was the Observation of a Noble Person (who was dear to Him for his Wisdom and Faithfulness, and was of His Council in all His Troubles) that *had the King been a Counsellor to any other Prince, He would have gained the Esteem of an Oracle*, all His Proposals being grounded upon the greatest Reason, and proper to the Business consulted about. Those that have been forward to interpret His Actions by the Success, and from thence have proceeded to the Censure of His Prudence, considered not the numerous Difficulties in forming any Resolution, nor the fallacious representations of Affairs to Him, but only looked upon His unprosperous Resolves according to the
Fate

Fate of unhappy Counsels, which *is to have that condemned which was put in Execution, and that praised as best which was never tryed.*

Thus was He made for Empire as well as born unto it ; and had all those Excellencies, which, if we had *The Censure of His Fortune.* been free to chuse, must have determined our Election of a Sovereign to Him alone, there being nothing wanting in Him that the severest Censors of Princes do number among the Requisites of a compleat Monarch. It was therefore the wonder of those who conceive every man to be the Artificer of His own Fortune, how it came to pass that He had not that *εὐτυχίαν*, an uninterrupted current of Success (which some men reckon among the constitutives of Happiness) in all His Enterprises. To Others that impute all our affairs here below to an inviolable Method of the Decrees of Heaven, which yet they acknowledge just, though dark, it seemed one of the Riddles of Providence, that a King of so great Vertues should yet be calamitous : for let Posterity judge how great and how good this Prince was, that could not be ruined even after a War (which *usually embitters the Spirits of those that are molested by it*) and a total Overthrow (*whose common Consequent is Contempt*) but by so various and such wicked Arts; and was judged by all men,

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though He wanted, yet to deserve Prosperity (as to humane judgement,) which (as some think) is the truest Happiness.

To these Doubts there appears no Resolution so obvious as that into the Pleasure of the Divine Majesty, who provoked by our sins, which had profaned his Mercies, and abused the Peace and Plenty he gave us, would chastise us by the scourge of Civil War, the corrective of too much felicity, and taking away the best of *Kings* leave us to the Pride and Violence of the basest of men. And that it was a wrath directed against us was apparent, because the misfortunes and fall of that Incomparable *Prince* opened upon us an avenue for all those miseries that a Community is obnoxious unto in the want of a lawful Government, while the Almighty secured the Glory of the *King* even in His Sufferings, provided for the Support and Honour of the Royal Family in its lowest Estate, and miraculously preserved the Chief of it from innumerable dangers, and made us to see afterwards in the Series of his Providences, that he had not withdrawn his loving-kindness from the House of *King CHARLES*, by restoring it to its primitive Grandeur.

And this he was pleased to signify to the *King* by a Passage that appeared little less than a Miracle. For while He was at *Oxford*, and the

the Earl of *Sonthampton*, now Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, (a Person of unquestionable Honour and Veracity, of an eminent Integrity, above the Flattery of Princes, who doth attest this Occurrence) as Gentleman of the Bed-chamber lay one Night in the same Chamber with Him, the Wax Mortar, which according to Custom the King alwayes had in His Chamber, was in the night, as they both conceived and took notice of it, fully extinguished. But my Lord rising in the Morning found it lighted, and said to the KING, *Sir, this Mortar now burns very clearly* : at which they both exceedingly wondred, as fully concluding it had been out in the Night, and they could not imagine how any of the Grooms, or any other could possibly light it, the Door being locked with a Spring within. This busying the wonder of both for the present, the King afterwards when He saw the Malice of His Enemies press hard upon His Life and Ruine, reflecting upon this Occurrence, drew it into this Presage, *That though God would permit His Light to be extinguished for a time, yet He would at last light it again* ; which was verified in the Event : for though God suffered the Faction to spill His blood, yet after many years of Troubles, and when he had permitted those Monsters to bring us to the brinks of destruction, he restored His Son

A Presage of His Fall, and the future State of the Royal Family.

to the Crown in as much Splendour and Greatness as any of His Predecessors.

As His Abilities for the Publick Administration of Government were all apt to raise Admirati-
His Recreations. on ; so His Recreations and Privacies gave a De-

light to such as communicated in the sight of them, and there needed no more to beget an Honour of Him than to behold Him in His Diversions, which were all serious, and there was no part of His time which either wanted benefit, or deserved not Commendation. In His younger dayes, His pleasures were in Riding, and sometimes in breaking the great Horse; and He did it so gracefully, that He deserved that Statue of Brasse which did represent Him on Horse-back. Besides this, He delighted in Hunting, an active and stirring Exercise to accustom Him to toils, and harden that body whose mind abhorred the softness of *Luxury* and *Ease*, which *Vicious Princes think a part of Power and the Rewards of Publick Cares*: but He used this as the way whereby the Antient Heroes were habituated to Labours, and by contending with some beasts in Strength and others in Swiftnes, first to rout, then to chase their flying Enemies. When the season of the year did not permit this sport, then Tennis, Gough, Bowls were the wayes of His Diversions, and in all these He was wonderfully active and excellent.

His

His softer pleasures were Books, and of His time spent in these there were many Monuments. In His Library at Saint *James's* there was kept a Collection of His, of the excellent Sayings of Authors, written with His own hand, and in his Youth, presented to His Father *King JAMES* : and there is yet extant in the hands of a Worthy Person, His Extracts written with His own hand, out of My Lord of *Canterbury's* Book against *Fisher*, of all the Arguments against the Papists, digested into so excellent a Method, that He gave Light and Strength to them even while He did epitomise them into a sheet or two of Paper. The same Care and Pains He had bestowed in reading the most Judicious *Hooker*, and the Learned Works of Bishop *Andrews*, out of all which He had gathered whatsoever was excellent in them, and fitted them for His ready use. When He was tired with Reading, then He applied Himself to Discourse, wherein He both benefited Himself and others ; and He was good at the Relation of a Story, or telling of an Occurrence. When these were tedious by continuance, He would either play at Chess, or please Himself with His Pictures, of which He had many choice pieces of the best Masters, as *Titian*, *Rafael*, *Tintoret* and others, with which He had adorned His most frequented Palaces, as also with most antique pieces of Sculpture ; so that to those that had travel-

led it seemed that *Italy* was Translated to His Court.

As His Spirit was thus accomplished, so His Body had its Elegancies. His
The Features of His Body. Stature was of a just height, rather decent than tall; His Body erect, and not enclining to a Corpulency, nor meager, till His Afflictions wrought too strongly upon it to a Leanness; His Limbs exactly proportioned, His Face full of Majesty, and His Brow large and Fair : His Eyes so quick and piercing, that they went farther than the Superficies of men, and searched their more Inward parts; for at the first sight He would pass a judgement upon the frame of a Man's Spirit and Faculties, and He was not often mistaken, having a strange happiness in Physiognomy, and by reason of this He would remember any one He had seen but once many years after. His Complexion was enclining to a Paleness, His Hair a brown, which He wore of a moderate length, ending in gentle and easie curls; upon His left side He indulged one Lock to a greater length in the youthful part of His Life. His Beard He wore picqued, but after the Faction had passed those
Votes of No Addresses, He permitted it to grow neglectedly and to cover more of His face. His Gestures had nothing of affectation, but full of Majestick Gravity. His motions were speedy, and His gate fast : which shewed the
 Alacrity

Alacrity and Vigour of His Mind, for His Affections were temperate. He was of a most healthfull Constitution, and after the infirmities of His Childhood was never sick. Once He had the small Pox, but the Malignity of it was so small, that it altered not His Stomach, nor put Him to the abstinence of one Meal, neither did it detain Him above a fortnight under the Care of His Physicians.

He was the Father of Four Sons and Five Daughters.

His Children.

1. *Charles James*, born at *Greenwich* on Wednesday, *May 13. 1628.* but died almost as soon as born, having been first Christened.

2. *Charles Duke of Cornwall* and Prince of *Wales*, born at *Saint James's*, *May 29. 1630.* whom, after a fellowship in the Sufferings of His Father, some brave, but unsuccessful, attempts to recover the Rights of His Inheritance, and twelve years various fortune abroad, God was pleased by a wonderful Providence, without blood or ruine, to conduct to His Native Throne, and make Him the Restorer of Peace to a People wearied and wasted, almost to a Desolation, by several changes of Government and Variety of reproachful Usurpers, that they became the Scorn of Neighbouring Nations, and the miserable Example of a

quiet Community, so torn in pieces by Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church; each party mutually armed to suppress its contrary, and destroy the publick, that it was impossible for them to re-unite or consent in common to seek the benefits of Society, untill they had submitted to Him as to the common Soul, to be governed by Him in the paths of Justice. He is now (and long may He be so) our Dread Sovereign *CHARLES II.*

3. *James*, born in the same place *Octob. 13. Anno 1633.* entituled Duke of *York* by His Majesty's Command at His Birth, and afterwards so Created. He was a Companion of His Brother in Exile, spending His time abroad both in the *French* and *Spanish* Camps with Glory, and returned with Him into *England*.

4. *Henry* Duke of *Gloucester*, born in the same place *July 8. 1639.* who after the Death of His Father was by the Parricides permitted to go beyond Sea to His Mother, with the promise of an Annual Pension, which they never intended to pay: A very hopeful Prince, who resisted the strong practices of some in the *Queen's* Court to seduce Him to the Church of *Rome*, which His Brother hearing sent for Him into *Flanders*; and He also attended Him to His Throne, but not long after died of the Small Pox, *Sept. 13. Anno 1660.*

5. *Mary*

5. *Mary*, born on *Novemb. 4. Anno 1631.* married to Count *William of Nassau*, Eldest Son to *Henry Prince of Orange*, by whom she was left a Widow, and a short time after the Mother of the now Prince of *Orange*; and coming over to visit her Brothers and the place of her Nativity, she died also of the Small Pox, *Decemb. 24. Anno 1660.*

6. *Elizabeth*, born *Jan. 28. Anno 1635.* who survived her Father, but lived not to see the Restoring the Royal Family, dying at *Carisbrook* the place of her Father's Captivity, being removed thither by the Murtherers, that the place might raise a grief to end her Days.

7. *Anne*, born *March 17. Anno 1637.* died before her Father.

8. *Katharine*, who died almost as soon as born.

9. *Henrietta*, born at *Exeter June 16. Anno 1644.* in the midst of the Wars, conveyed not long after by the Lady *Dalkeith* into *France* to her Mother, and is now married to the Duke of *Anjou*, only Brother to the King of *France*.

Having left this Issue He died in the forty ninth year of His Age, and 23. of His Reign, having lived Much rather than Long, and left
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so many great and difficult Examples as will busie Good Princes to imitate, and Bad ones to Wonder at : A man in Office and mind like to that Spiritual Being, which the more men understand the more they Admire and Love ; and that may be said of Him which was said of that Excellent Roman who sought Glory by Vertue,

Homo Virtuti simillimus, & per omnia Ingenio Diis quàm Hominibus propior : Qui nunquam rectè fecit, ut rectè facere videretur ; sed quia aliter facere non poterat : Cuique id solum visum est Rationem habere quod haberet Justitiam. Omnibus humanis vitiis Immunis semper in Potestate sua Fortunam habuit. Vell. Paterc. lib. 2.

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APPENDIX.

THat the Piety and Charity of this Excellent and Incomparable PRINCE may yet farther appear, it will not, I presume, be unacceptable to the Reader, to Annex some few of His Majesties Select Meditations and Declarations, such especially as were Penned a little before His Martyrdom; when His Soul seemed to have been inspired with a bigger Sense of His approaching Fate, and at once by a Generous Scorn, to trample upon the Glories of the World, and to Triumph over the most Insolent Villanies of His Enemies. Nor will the Reader repent the taking them in His own Words, nothing being able to express the Sense of His Mind, like the Native Elegancy of His own Pen.

Upon

*Upon their denying His M A J E S T Y
the Attendance of the*

{ Bishop of LONDON, }
{ Bishop of SALISBURY; }

And HIS Chaplains,

Doctor { Sheldon,
Hammond,
Holdsworth, } Doctor { Sander son,
Turner,
Heywood.

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civil Comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplied by the attendance of some of my Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their Learning, Piety and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in God's good time : so reaping by their Pious help a spiritual harvest of Grace, amidst

midst the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal Crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously Pious and soberly Devout.

The Solitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wilderness to my Temptations : For the company they obtrude upon Me is more sad than any Solitude can be.

If I had asked my Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of my Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil Policy of Men forbids all just restitution, lest they should confess an injurious Usurpation : But to deny Me the Ghostly comfort of my Chaplains, seems a greater Rigor and Barbarity than is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors ; whom though the Justice of the Law deprives of worldly comforts, yet the Mercy of Religion allows them the benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to destroy their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony must not be relieved with the presence of any one good Angel ; for such I account a Learned, Godly, and discreet Divine : and such I would have all mine to be.

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They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian; while they seek to deprive Me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.

Other sence Charity it self can hardly pick out of those many harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of some of my Chaplains.

I have sometime thought, the Unchristianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see Me prefer My own Divines before their Ministers : whom though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for My present Comforters or Physicians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these Calamities, and inflicting these Wounds upon Me.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy Offices to be performed with Me and for Me; since their Judgements standing at a distance from Me, or in jealousy of Me, or in opposition against Me, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with theirs, either in Prayer or other holy Duties, as is meet and most comfortable; whose golden Rule and bond of Perfection

tion consists in that of mutual Love and Charity.

Some Remedies are worse than the Disease, and some Comforters more miserable than Misery it self : when, like *Job's* Friends, they seek not to fortifie ones mind with Patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocency, to despair of God's Mercy ; and by justifying their Injuries, to strengthen the hands and harden the hearts of Insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men that have any thing in them becomming that Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest chiefly upon Conscience and Constancy to maintain their Rights : whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eyes of many cruel and rapacious Reformers; the more I thought it my duty to appear as a Father and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandsomly requited by some of them, who may live to repent no less for My Sufferings than their own ungrateful Errors, and that injurious Contempt and Meanness which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pity all of them, I despise none : only I thought I might have leave to make choice of some for my special Attendants, who were best approved in My Judgement, and most suitable to

to My Affection. For I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no mens Prayers, than to be forced, or seem to comply with those Petitions to which the Heart cannot consent, nor the Tongue say *Amen*; without contradicting a mans own Understanding, or belying his own Soul.

In Devotions I love neither Profane Boldness, nor Pious Nonsense; but such an humble and judicious Gravity, as shews the Speaker to be at once considerate of God's Majesty, the Churches Honour, and his own Vileness; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to supplicate the Divine Mercy for himself and others.

I am equally scandalized with all Prayers that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting Humility to God, or Charity to Men, or Respect to the Duty.

I confess I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons, so with such publick Forms of Prayer as are fitted to the Churches, and every Christians daily and common necessities: because I am by them better assured what I may joyn my Heart unto, than I can be of any mans Extemporary sufficiency; which as I do not wholly exclude from publick occasions, so I allow its just liberty and use in private and devout

devout retirements, where neither the solemnity of the Duty, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of Understanding, and the fervency of Affection, I hold the main and most necessary requisites both in constant and occasional, solitary and social Devotions.

So that I must needs seem to all equal minds, with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their Ministers, as I do the Liturgy before the Directory.

In the one I have been alwayes educated and exercised; in the other I am not yet Catechised nor acquainted: And if I were, yet should I not by that, as by any certain Rule and Canon of Devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men who highly cry up that as a piece of rare composition and use, which is already as much despised and disused by many of them, as the Common-Prayer sometimes was by those men, a great part of whose piety hung upon that popular pin of railing against and contemning the Government and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Vae soli*, than to that of *Vae vobis*, *Hypocrite*, by seeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by my Deniers sufficient

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ficient of My self to discharge my Duty to God as a Priest, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well become the same Person; as anciently they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better precedents, if I were able, than those two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns, than one was for devout Psalms and Prayers, the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any of those the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they subdued; it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of Gods Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwayes distinguished the Gifts and Offices of Kings and Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorry to find My self reduced to the necessity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For such as seek to deprive Me of my Kingly Power and Sovereignty, would no less enforce Me to live many months without all Prayers,

ers, Sacraments and Sermons, unless I become My own Chaplain.

As I owe the Clergy the protection of a Christian KING, so I desire to enjoy from them the benefit of their Gifts and Prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens, by how much they flow from Minds more enlightned and Affections less distracted than those which are encumbred with Secular affairs: besides, I think a greater Blessing and acceptableness attends those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to and within the limits of that Calling to which God and the Church have specially designed and consecrated some men. And however, as to that Spiritual Government by which the Devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offers it self and its services to God, every private Believer is a King and a Priest, invested with the honour of a Royal Priesthood; yet as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest or Preacher, as it will in the State where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and, I think, more Pious Principles: The conscioufness to my Spiritual defects makes Me more prize and desire those Pious assistances which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters,

may afford Me; especially in these Extremities to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce Me, so as to leave them nothing more but my Life to take from Me; and to leave Me nothing to desire, which I thought might less provoke their Jealousie and offence to deny Me than this, of having some means afforded Me for my Souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their Learning and Piety, no less than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but only this, That they may seem too able, and too well-affected toward Me and my Service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Me to serve My self: though I must confess, I bear with more grief and impatience the want of my Chaplains than of any other my Servants, and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and Children; since from these indeed more of humane and temporary Affections, but from those more of Heavenly and Eternal Improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont
to

to afford extraordinary supplies of his Gifts and Graces.

If his Spirit will teach Me, and help my infirmities in Prayer, Reading and Meditation, (as I hope he will) I shall need no other either Orator or Instructor.

To thee therefore, O My God, do I direct my now solitary Prayers : What I want of others help, supply with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten my darkness, and quicken my dulness.

O thou Sun of Righteousness, thou Sacred Fountain of Heavenly Light and Heat, at once clear and warm my Heart, both by instructing of Me, and interceding for Me. In Thee is all Fullness, from Thee is all Sufficiency, by Thee is all Acceptance. Thou art company enough, and comfort enough : Thou art my King, be also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule Me, teach Me, pray in Me, for Me, and be Thou ever with Me.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with Thee in that Sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but Thy self, who didst assist him with power to overcome Thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a Blessing from Thee.

O look on Me thy Servant in infinite Mercy,
T 3 *whom*

whom Thou didst once bless with the joint and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldness of my Affections towards Thee; when we went to or met in thy House with the Voice of joy and gladness, worshipping Thee in the unity of Spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect and not improving of those happy Opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wilderness, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a Coal scattered from all those pious glowings and devout reflections which might best kindle, preserve and encrease the holy fire of thy Graces on the Altar of my Heart, whence the sacrifice of Prayers and incense of Praises might be duly offered up to Thee.

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Yet, O Thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoking Flax, do not despise the weakness of my Prayers, nor the smotherings of my Soul in this uncomfortable loneliness, to which I am constrained by some mens uncharitable denials of those helps which I much want, and no less desire.

*O let the hardness of Their Hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to Thee and for them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love, let their unreasonable denials of my Religious desires the more
excite*

excite my Prayers to Thee. Let their inexorable deafness encline thine ear to Me, who art a God easie to be entreated : thine Ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy Heart hard, that it will not hear ; nor thy Hand shortned, that it cannot help Me thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Me of those outward means which Thou hast appointed in thy Church ; but they cannot debar Me from the communion of that inward Grace which Thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make Me such, and Thou wilt teach Me, Thou wilt hear Me, Thou wilt help Me : the broken and contrite heart, I know, Thou wilt not despise.

Thou, O Lord, canst at once make Me thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar ; while from an humble Heart I (alone) daily offer up in holy Meditations, fervent Prayers, and unfeigned Tears, My self to Thee, who preparest Me for Thee, dwellest in Me, and acceptest of Me.

Thou, O Lord, didst cause by secret supplies, and miraculous infusions, that the handfull of Meal in the vessel should not spend, nor the little Oyl in the cruise fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on my Soul, which, as a Widow, is now
desolate

desolate and forsaken : let not those saving Truths I have formerly learned now fail my memory; nor the sweet effusions of thy Spirit, which I have sometime felt, now be wanting to my Heart in this Famine of ordinary and wholesom food, for the refreshing of my Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuse, than to feed from those hands who mingle my bread with ashes, and my wine with gall, rather tormenting than teaching Me; whose mouths are proner to bitter Reproaches of Me, than to hearty Prayers for Me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wrest thy Holy Scriptures to my destruction, (which are clear for their Subjection, and My Preservation:) O let it not be to their Damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long Prayers) have sought to devour the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens Balms break my head, nor their Cordials oppress my heart : I will evermore pray against their Wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire and the swords of their words, ever deliver Me, O Lord, and all those Loyal and Religious hearts who desire and delight

delight in the prosperity of my Soul, and who seek by their Prayers to relieve this Sadness and Solitude of thy Servant, O my King, and my God.

Penitential Meditations and Vows

In The

KING'S Solitude at *Holdenby*.

Give ear to my words, O Lord, consider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God; for unto Thee will I pray.

I said in mine haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eyes; nevertheless Thou hearest the voice of my supplication, when I cry unto Thee.

If Thou, Lord, shouldst be extream to mark what is done amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with Thee, that thou mayest be feared; therefore shall sinners fly unto Thee.

I acknowledge my Sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of my Condition; the eminency of my Place adding weight to my Offences.

Forgive, I beseech Thee, my personal and my peoples

peoples Sins, which are so far Mine, as I have not improved The Power thou gavest Me to thy Glory and my Subjects good. Thou hast now brought Me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Prisoner to my own Subjects : Justly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against Thee.

Though Thou hast restrained my Person, yet enlarge my Heart to Thee, and thy Grace towards Me.

I come far short of David's Piety ; yet since I may equal David's Afflictions, give Me also the Comforts and the sure Mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of my Sins be an evidence to Me that Thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the Evils which I and my Kingdoms have suffered seem little unto Thee, though Thou hast not punished us according to our Sins.

Turn Thee (O Lord) unto Me; have mercy upon Me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of my Heart are enlarged ; O bring Thou Me out of my Troubles.

Hast Thou forgotten to be gracious, and shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure ?

O remember

O remember thy Compassions of old, and thy loving kindneses which have been for many Generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not believed to see thy Goodness in the Land of the Living.

Let not the sins of our Prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy Afflictions.

Let this fiery tryal consume the dross which in long Peace and Plenty we had contracted.

Though Thou continuest Miseries, yet withdraw not thy Grace; what is wanting of Prosperity, make up in Patience and Repentance.

And if thy Anger be not yet to be turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still; let it, I beseech Thee, be against Me and my Fathers house: as for these Sheep what have they done?

Let my Sufferings satiate the malice of Mine and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their Cruelty never exceed the measure of My Charity.

Banish from Me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor Thou the glory of my Patience.

As

As Thou givest Me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech Thee do Thou forgive what they have done against Thee and Me.

And now, O Lord, as Thou hast given Me an heart to pray unto Thee, so hear and accept this Vow which I make before Thee.

If Thou wilt in mercy remember Me and my Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling thy True Religion among us;

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice;

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church, and Factions in State :

If Thou wilt restore Me and Mine to the ancient Rights and Glory of my Predecessors :

If Thou wilt turn the hearts of my People to Thy self in Piety, to Me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charity :

If Thou wilt quench the flames and withdraw the fuel of these Civil Wars :

If Thou wilt bless us with the freedom of public Counsels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolency of the Vulgar :

If

If Thou wilt keep Me from the great offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especially from consenting to Sacrilegious Rapines and Spoilings of thy Church :

If Thou wilt restore Me to a capacity to glorifie Thee, in doing good both to the Church and State;

Then shall my Soul praise Thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People :

Then shall thy Glory be dearer to Me than my Crowns, and the advancement of true Religion both in purity and power be my chiefeſt care :

Then will I rule my people with Juſtice, and my Kingdoms with Equity.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owe, as the rightful Succeſſion, ſo the merciful Reſtoration of my Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If Thou wilt bring Me again with Peace, Safety and Honour, to my chiefeſt City and my Parliament :

If Thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hand, to puniſh and proteſt :

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy, the benefit of this Vow and
Reſolution

Resolution of Christian Charity which I now make unto Thee, O Lord.

As I do freely pardon, for Christs sake, those that have offended Me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to Me.

We have been mutually punished in our unnatural Divisions; for thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of Amnestie and Indemnity, which may most fully remove all Fears, and bury all Jealousies in forgetfulness.

Let Thy Mercies be toward Me and Mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my Prayer, nor taken his Mercy from Me.

O my Soul, commit thy way to the Lord; trust in him, and he shall bring it to pass.

But if Thou wilt not restore Me and Mine, what am I that I should charge Thee foolishly?

Thou,

*Thou, O Lord, hast given, and thou hast taken;
Blessed be thy Name.*

*May my People and thy Church be happy, if not
by Me, yet without Me.*

His MAJESTIES Declaration After the Votes of no further Addresses.

Carisbrook, Jan. 18. MDC XLVII.

To all My People, of whatsoever Nation, Quality or Condition.

AM I thus laid aside? and must I not speak for My self? No : I will speak, and that to all My People, (which I would have rather done by the way of My two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick Order, neither to make Addresses to, or receive Messages from me.) And who but you can be judge of the differences betwixt Me and My two Houses? I know none else : for I am sure you it is who will enjoy the Happiness, or feel the Misery of good or ill Government ; and we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you, without having a regard (at least in the first place) to particular Interests. And therefore I desire you to consider the state I am and have been

been in this long time, and whether My Actions have more tended to the Publick or My own particular good. For whosoever will look upon Me barely as I am a Man, without that liberty (which the meanest of My Subjects enjoys) of going whither, and conversing with whom I will; as a Husband and Father, without the comfort of My Wife and Children; or lastly as a King, without the least shew of Authority or Power to protect My distressed Subjects; must conclude Me not only void of all Natural Affection, but also to want common understanding, if I should not most chearfully embrace the readiest way to the settlement of these distracted Kingdoms. As also on the other side, do but consider the form and draught of the Bills lately presented unto Me, and as they are the Conditions of a Treaty, ye will conclude, that the same Spirit which hath still been able to frustrate all My sincere and constant endeavours for Peace, hath had a powerfull influence on this Message. For though I was ready to grant the substance, and comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without deeply wounding My Conscience and Honour, and betraying the Trust reposed in Me, by abandoning My People to the Arbitrary and Unlimited Power of the two Houses for ever, for the levying and maintaining of Land or Sea Forces, without distinction of quality or limitation for Money taxes. And if I could have passed them in terms, how unheard-of

heard-of a Condition were it for a Treaty to grant beforehand the most considerable part of the subject matter? How ineffectual were that debate like to prove, wherein the most potent Party had nothing of moment left to ask, and the other nothing more to give? so, consequently, how hopeless of mutual compliance? without which a settlement is impossible. Besides, if after My Concessions the two Houses should insist on those things from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the condition of these Kingdoms be, when the most proper and approved remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved that I could neither in Conscience, Honour or Prudence, pass those Four Bills; I only endeavoured to make the Reasons and Justice of my Denial appear to all the World, as they do to me, intending to give as little dissatisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament (without betraying My own Cause) as the matter would bear: I was desirous to give My Answer of the 28. of *December* last to the Commissioners sealed, (as I had done others heretofore, and sometimes at the desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because when My Messages or Answers were publickly known before they were read in the Houses, prejudicial interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to My meaning. For example, My Answer from *Hampton-Court* was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give satisfaction to

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the *Scots* in all things concerning that Kingdom: And this last suffers in a contrary sense, by making Me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Laws of this Kingdom, (than which nothing was, nor is, further from My thoughts) because I took notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the Interests and Engagements of the two Kingdoms. Indeed, if I had not mentioned their dissent, an Objection, not without some probability, might have been made against Me, both in respect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill for the *Militia*, and in several other Propositions; and My silence might, with some Justice, have seem'd to approve of it: But the Commissioners refusing to receive My Answer sealed, I (upon the engagement of their and the Governours Honour, that no other use should be made or notice taken of it than as if it had not been seen) read and delivered it open unto them; whereupon what hath since passed, either by the Governour, in discharging most of My Servants, redoubling the Guards, and restraining Me of My former Liberty, (and all this, as himself confest, meerly out of his own dislike of My Answer, notwithstanding his before said Engagement) or afterwards by the two Houses, (as the Governour affirms) in confining Me within the circuit of this Castle, I appeal to God and the World; whether My said Answer deserved the reply of such proceedings; besides the unlawfulness for Subjects to imprison their King.

That

That by the permission of Almighty God I am reduced to this sad condition, as I no way repine; so I am not without hope, but that the same God will in due time convert these Afflictions into My advantage. In the mean time, I am confident to bear these crosses with Patience, and a great Equality of Mind. But by what means or occasion I am come to this Relapse in My Affairs, I am utterly to seek; especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to My two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the Kingdom, all but what is much more dear to Me than My Life, My Conscience and Honour; desiring nothing more than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, a Personal Treaty. But that which makes Me most at a loss is, the remembering My signal compliance with the Army and their Interests: and of what importance My compliance was to them, and their often-repeated Professions and Ingagements for my just Rights in general, at *Newmarket* and *S. Albans*, and their particular explanation of those generals by their voted and re-voted Proposals, which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would be expected from Me, and that in some things therein I should be eased; (herein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have said be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their expectations, or My professions to them, I challenge them and the whole World to produce the least colour of Reason. And now I

would know what it is that is desired. Is it Peace? I have shewed the way, (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just compliance with all chief Interests. Is it Plenty and Happiness? They are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it Security? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the *Militia* for My time. Is it Liberty of Conscience? He who wants it is most ready to give it. Is it the right administration of Justice? Officers of trust are committed to the choice of My two Houses of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arrears of the Army? Upon a settlement they will certainly be paid with much ease, but before there will be found much difficulty, if not impossibility, in it.

Thus all the World cannot but see My real and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I shall neither repent Me of nor ever be slackned in, notwithstanding My past, present, or future sufferings : But if I may not be heard, let every one judge who it is that obstructs the good I would or might do. What is it that men are afraid to hear from Me? It cannot be Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so unreasonable as to confess it :) and it can less be impertinent or unreasonable Discourses ; for thereby, peradventure, I might more justifie this My Restraint than the causers themselves

themselves can do : so that of all wonders yet this is the greatest to Me. But it may be easily gathered how those men intend to govern who have used Me thus. And if it be My hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blush for My self, but much lament the future Miseries of My People, the which I shall still pray to God to avert, whatever becomes of Me.

CHARLES R.

*Meditations upon DEATH, after
the Votes of Non-Addresses, and
His MAJESTIES closer Im-
prisonment in Carisbrook Castle.*

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death ; for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence which gives Me the space, but Mans Cruelty that gives Me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

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For,

For, besides the common burthen of Mortality, which lies upon Me as a Man, I now bear the heavy load of other mens Ambitions, Fears, Jealousies, and cruel Passions, whose Envy or Enmity against Me makes their own lives seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God, my Prosperity made Me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of Mortality : Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwayes uncertain : Death being an Eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy dayes.

But my now long and sharp Adversity hath so reconciled in Me those natural Antipathies between Life and Death which are in all men, that, I thank God, the common terrours of it are dispelled, and the special horror of it as to My particular much allayed : for although my Death at present may justly be represented to Me with all those terrible aggravations which the policy of Cruel and Implacable enemies can put upon it (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of Malice;) yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those things as unpoisonous, though sharp, since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given Me the Antidote of his Death against them; which as to the Immaturity, Unjustice, Shame, Scorn and Cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed,

Indeed, I never did find so much the Life of Religion, the Feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious Integrity and Constancy, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old as to be weary of Life; nor (I hope) so bad as to be either afraid to dye, or ashamed to live : true, I am so afflicted, as might make Me sometime even desire to dye; if I did not consider, that it is the greatest glory of a Christians life to *dye daily*, in conquering, by a lively Faith and patient Hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us (as it were) by piece-meals, and make us overlive our own fates; while we are deprived of Health, Honour, Liberty, Power, Credit, Safety or Estate, and those other Comforts of dearest Relations, which are as the Life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much as in the Love and good will of my People; for which as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead : notwithstanding my Enemies have used all the poison of Falshity and violence of Hostility to destroy, first the Love and Loyalty which is in my Subjects, and then all that content of Life in Me which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of Life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further Malice and Cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly Comforts for which Life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O my Soul, think not that Life too long or tedious wherein God gives Thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian Patience and Magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest Honour of our Lives, and the best improvement of our Deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian Valour it argues Pusillanimity to desire to dye out of weariness of life, and a want of that heroick greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian, in the patient and generous sustaining those Afflictions which as shadows necessarily attend us while we are in this Body, and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our Prosperity moves higher or lower; whose total absence is best recompenced with the dew of Heaven.

The assaults of Affliction may be terrible, like *sampson's* Lion, but they yield much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.
That

That I must dye as a Man is certain : that I may dye a King by the hands of my own Subjects, a violent, sudden and barbarous death, in the strength of my years, in the midst of my Kingdoms, my Friends and loving Subjects being helpless Spectators, my Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwise as to mans Cruelty ; however I despair not of God's infinite Mercy.

I know my Life is the object of the Devils and Wicked mens Malice ; but yet under God's sole custody and disposal : whom I do not think to flatter for longer Life, by seeming prepared to die ; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to lay them out to Me.

I confess it is not easie for Me to contend with those many horrors of Death wherewith God suffers Me to be tempted ; which are equally horrid either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination, or in those greater formalities whereby my Enemies (being more solemnly cruel) will, it may be, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the Mockery of Justice to the Cruelty of Malice. That I may be destroyed, as with greater Pomp and Artifice, so with
less

less Pity, it will be but a necessary policy, to make my Death appear as an act of Justice done by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man invests them with any power of Judicature without Me, much less against Me; and who, being sworn and bound by all that is Sacred before God and Man to endeavour my Preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjury.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be his Accusers, Parties and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Sovereign; wherein those who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding My Blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and Man, and, I believe, in their own Consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped Power against their lawfull Superiours than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applyed only to disguise at first the monstrosities of their designs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, be cast out and slain.

With

With them my greatest Fault must be, that I would not either destroy My self, with the Church and State, by my Word, or not suffer them to do it unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous Ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet either satisfie or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think that Kingdom of Brambles, which some men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless either to God or Man) is like to thrive, till watered with the Royal Blood of those whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will be done; I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protector and my Advocate, who is my only Judge, whom I own as King of Kings; not only for the eminency of His Power and Majesty above them, but also for that singular Care and Protection which he hath over them; who knows them to be exposed to as many Dangers (being the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils which love Confusion.

Nor will he suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the Bones, and cement it with the Blood of their **KINGS**.

I am confident they will find Avengers of my
Death

Death among themselves : the Injuries I have sustained from them, shall be first punished by them, who agreed in nothing so much as in opposing Me.

Their impatience to bear the loud cry of my Blood, shall make them think no way better to expiate it than by shedding theirs who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad Confusions following my Destruction are already presaged and confirmed to Me by those I have lived to see since my Troubles, in which God alone (who only could) hath many wayes pleaded my Cause; not suffering them to go unpunished whose Confederacy in Sin was their only Security; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual Vengeance afterward destroy them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the Power and Love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the Victory of his Resurrection and the glory of his Ascension.

My next Comfort is, that he gives Me not only the honour to imitate his Example *in suffering for Righteousness sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injustice) but also that Charity, which is the noblest Revenge upon and Victory over my Destroyers; by which, I thank God, I can both forgive them,

them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my Blood to them, further than to convince them what need they have of Christs Blood to wash their Souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the Will of my Enemies seems to be their only rule, their Power the measure, and their Success the exactor of what they please to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the fancy of their own Safety by My Danger, and the security of their Lives and Designs by My Death: forgetting, that as the greatest temptations to Sin are wrapped up in seeming Prosperities, so the severest Vengeances of God are then most accomplished when men are suffered to compleat their wicked purposes.

I bless God, I pray not so much that this bitter cup of a Violent Death may pass from Me, as that of his Wrath may pass from all those whose hands by deserting me are sprinkled, or by acting and consenting to my Death are embued with my Blood.

The Will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without any pleasure of desired Vengeance.

This I think becomes a Christian toward his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to lose, when God sees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whose Mercy, I believe, will more than infinitely recompence whatever by Mans Injustice he is pleased to deprive me of.

The Glory attending my Death will far surpass all I could enjoy or conceive in Life.

I shall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his Graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my Earthly Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdom with Himself.

For the censures of the world, I know the sharp and necessary Tyranny of my Destroyers will sufficiently confute the Calumnies of Tyranny against Me: I am perswaded I am happy in the judicious Love of the ablest and best of my Subjects, who do not only pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me or for Me.

These know how to excuse my Failings as a Man, and yet to retain and pay their Duty to Me as their KING; there being no Religious necessity binding any Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes, especially there where
more

more than sufficient Satisfaction hath been made to the publick ; the enjoyment of which private Ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believe, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by my Ruine, do already feel sharp Convictions, and some remorse in their Consciences ; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Me in the measure of God's retaliations upon them, who cannot hope long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been so cruel as to cut off their chiefest strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may be like that of *Korab* and his Complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of Divine Justice as is not ordinary ; the Earth of the lowest and meanest People opening upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worse-used Authority, upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their Designs against Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefest comfort in Death consists in my Peace which, I trust, is made with God ; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword between Me and my causeless Enemies : where I
doubt

doubt not but his Righteous Judgement will confute their Fallacy, who from worldly Success (rather like Sophisters than sound Christians) draw those popular Conclusions for God's Approbation of their actions ; whose wise Providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed Word (the only clear, safe and fixed Rule of good Actions and good Consciences) in no sort approves.

I am confident, the Justice of my Cause and Cleareness of my Conscience before God and toward my People will carry Me as much above them in God's decision, as their Successes have lifted them above Me in the Vulgar Opinion : who consider not that many times those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperity and applause of the world, whose rise is from Hell as to the Injuriousness and Oppression of the Design. The prosperous winds which oft fill the sails of Pirates, do not justify their Piracy and Rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in my enforced Contestation for and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and Honour of Parliaments, the Rights of my Crown, the just Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due Encouragements, than if I had with the greatest advantages of Success over-born them all ; as
some

some men have now evidently done, what-ever Designs they at first pretended.

The Prayers and Patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter Cup, which I doubt not but I shall more chearfully take, and drink as from God's hand, (if it must be so) than they can give it to Me whose hands are unjustly and barbarously lifted up against Me.

And as to the last event, I may seem to owe more to my Enemies than my Friends ; while those will put a period to the Sins and Sorrows attending this miserable Life, wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling Me, for whom I have hitherto suffered, as he is the Author of Truth, Order and Peace ; for all which I have been forced to contend against Errour, Faction and Confusion.

If I must suffer a Violent Death, with my Saviour, it is but Mortality crowned with Martyrdom : where the debt of Death which I owe for Sin to Nature, shall be raised as a gift of Faith and Patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept : and although Death be the wages of My own Sin as from God, and the effect of o-

X

thers

thers Sins as men, both against God and Me; yet as I hope My own Sins are so remitted that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my Death, so I desire God to pardon their Sins who are most guilty of my Destruction.

The Trophees of my Charity will be more glorious and durable over them, than their ill-managed Victories over Me.

Though their Sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned. Both which I pray God they may obtain; that my Temporal Death unjustly inflicted by them may not be revenged by God's just inflicting Eternal Death upon them: for I look upon the Temporal Destruction of the greatest King as far less deprecable than the Eternal Damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other than the safe bringing of the Ship to shore, when they have cast Me over-board: though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the Storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies Cruelty cannot prevent my Preparation; whose Malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body: of whose Salvation while some of them have

have themselves seemed and taught others to despair, they have only discovered this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Me even the assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged than any way obstructed my access to the Throne of Heaven.

Where Thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal Life, in whom is no shadow of Death.

Thou, O God, art both the just Inflicter of Death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it and from it.

Tea it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in Thee, than by living in our selves to be deprived of Thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my Death, as a Man and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special Graces and Comforts in my Soul, as a Christian.

If Thou, Lord, wilt be with Me, I shall neither fear nor feel any evil, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of Death.

*To contend with Death, is the work of a weak
X 2 and*

and mortal man; to overcome it, is the Grace of Thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with Me as a man, make Me to know what it is to pass through Death to Life with Thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that Thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though Thou slayest Me, yet Thou hast encouraged Me to trust in Thee for Eternal Life.

O withdraw not thy Favour from Me, which is better than Life.

O be not far from Me, for I know not how near a violent and Cruel Death is to Me.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discovers, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the Designs of those who have, or shall conspire my Destruction.

O shew Me the goodness of thy Will, through the wickedness of theirs.

Thou givest Me leave, as a man, to pray that this Cup may pass from Me; but Thou hast taught Me, as a Christian, by the example of Christ, to add, Not My will, but Thine be done.

Tea, Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving

*solving Mine into Thine : let not the desire of
Life in Me be so great, as that of doing or suffer-
ing thy Will in either Life or Death.*

*As I believe Thou hast forgiven all the Errours
of my Life, so I hope Thou wilt save Me from the
Terrorours of my Death.*

*Make Me content to leave the Worlds Nothing,
that I may come really to enjoy All in Thee, who
hast made Christ unto Me in Life Gain, and in
Death Advantage.*

*Though my Destroyers forget their Duty to Thee
and Me; yet do not Thou, O Lord, forget to be
merciful to them.*

*For what profit is there in my Blood, or in their
gaining my Kingdoms, if they lose their own
Souls ?*

*Such as have not only resisted my just Power,
but wholly usurped and turned it against My self,
though they may deserve, yet let them not receive
to themselves Damnation.*

*Thou madest thy Son a Saviour to many that
crucified Him, while at once He suffered violent-
ly by them, and yet willingly for them.*

*O let the voice of his Blood be heard for My
Murtherers, louder than the Cry of Mine against
them.*

X 3

Prepare

Prepare them for thy Mercy by due Convictions of their Sin; and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls, by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Me; while the conscience of their unjust Usurpation of power against Me chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against Me.

O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their Mercies to Me, as very false; so very cruel; who pretending to preserve Me, have meditated nothing but my Ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men; but overcome their Cruelty with Thy Compassion and My Charity.

And when Thou makest inquisition for my Blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the Blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on Earth too little to entertain at once both them and Me; yet let the capacious Kingdom of thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and my Enemies.

When being reconciled to Thee in the Blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these Ambitious desires, which beget such mortal Enmities.

When

*When their hands shall be heaviest and cruel-
est upon Me, O let Me fall into the arms of thy
tender and eternal Mercies.*

*That what is cut off of my Life in this mise-
rable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed
Eternity.*

*Lord, let thy Servant depart in Peace, for my
eyes have seen thy Salvation.*

Vota dabunt quæ bella negârunt.

X 4

M. S.

M. S.

Sanctissimi Regis & Martyris, CAROLI Primi.

Siste, Viator;

Luge, Obmutesce, Mirare :

Memento CAROLI ILLIUS
Nominis pariter & insignissimæ Pietatis PRIMI,
MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ ILLIUS,
Qui Rebellium Perfidiâ primò deceptus,
Dein Perfidorum Rabie percussus,
Inconcussus tamen LEGUM & FIDEI DEFENSOR,
Schismaticorum Tyrannidi succubuit,

Anno

Salutis Humanæ MDCXLVIII,

Servitutis Britannicæ, } Primo,
Felicитatis Suæ, }

Coronâ Terrestri spoliatus, Cœlesti donatus.

Sed, Sileant perituræ Tabellæ :

Perlege RELIQUIAS verè Sacras CAROLINAS,

In Quis,

Ipsa Sui Iconem, Ære perenniolem,
vivaciùs exprimit

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

CAROLI Primi τῷ Μαναρῆτι
Epitaphium Ἐνδεκασυλλαβικόν.

S*istas sacrilegum Pedem, Viator,*
Nè forsan temeres sacros sepulchri
Augusti Cineres. Repòstus hîc est
In Terræ Gremio Decor Stupórque
Humani Generis ; *Senex, & Infans ;*
Prudens scilicet *Innocéns*que Princeps :
Regnî *Præsidium, Ruina* Regnî ;
Vitâ Præsidium, Ruina *Morte.*
Quem *Regem* potiùs, *Patrém*ve dicam ?
O Patrem *priùs, & deinde* Regem !
Regem quippe *suû, Patrém*que *Regni.*
Hic *Donúm*que Dei, Deíque *Cura,*
(Quem *Vitá*que refert, refértque *Morte,*)
Ringente Satanâ, Canente Cœlo,
Dîro in Pegmate [*Gloriæ* Theatro]
Et Christi *Cruce, Victori, & securi*
Baptistæ emicuit. Ruina Felix !
Quâ Divum *Carolus* secutus Agnum,
Et postliminio domum vocatus
Primævæ Patriæ fit Inquilinus.

{ Sic Lucis priùs Hesperus Cadentis
{ Resplendet modò Phosphorus Reversæ.

Hic

Hic Vindex Fidei sacer Vetustæ,
Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum,
Naturæ Typus absolutioris,
Fortunæ Domitor ferendo suæ ;
Qui quantum Calicis bibit tremendi,
Tantundem sibi Gloriæ reportat ;
Regum Maximus, unicûsque Regum,
In quo Res minima est, *fuisse Regem.*
Solus, qui superâ locatus Arce
Vel Vitâ poterit frui priore.

Quum sint Reliquiæ, Cadaver, Umbra
Tam sacri Capitis vel ipsa sacra,
Ipsis Eulogiis coinquinata,
Quæque ipsum ^{Ἐνδυνασύλαβον} prophanat ;
Sistas sacrilegum Pedem, Viator.

Tho. Piercc D. D. Coll. Magd. apud Oxon. Præses.

An

An EPIGRAPH upon KING CHARLES.

*SO falls that stately Cedar; while it stood
 That was the onely glory of the Wood;
 Great CHARLES, thou earthly God, celestial Man,
 Whose life, like others, though it were a span;
 Yet in that span was comprehended more
 Than Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore:
 Thy heavenly virtues Angels should rehearse,
 It is a theme too high for humane Verse:
 He that would know thee right, then let him look
 Upon thy rare incomparable Book,
 And read it o're and o're: which if he do,
 Hee'l find thee King, and Priest, and Prophet too;
 And sadly see our loss, and, though in vain,
 With fruitless wishes call thee back again:
 Nor shall oblivion sit upon thy Herse,
 Though there were neither Monument, nor Verse.
 Thy Suff'rings and thy Death let no man name,
 It was thy Glory, but the Kingdoms Shame.*

J. H.

ΜΑΡΤΤΣ, ὑπὲρ Θεῶν, Πατεῖκων το Νόμον, ὃχ' αἰετ,
 Σκηπτεῖχον ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μὲν ἐπιπλεν χερσὶν ἀλητῶν.

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